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ABSTRACT

The study examines the major determinants of the career patterns of black managers in white businesses and the effects of corporations on their black managers' identities and relationships to the black community. Analyzed were occupational mobility theories; white and black managers' career patterns, goals, and related factors; company employment policies and Affirmative Action Programs; managers' understanding of the companies' hiring and promoting policies and their influence on and agreement with those policies; racial attitudes; effects of social protest on black managers' career patterns; and the effect of black managers' position in white corporations on their relationship to their communities. One hundred fifty-six white managers and 116 black managers in eight firms were studied using a seven-part questionnaire. All the data indicate that racial discrimination is the major factor explaining the situation of blacks in the corporate world (only 1.9 per cent of the managers of participating firms) and in their own firms (low management positions not receiving equal employment opportunities). (A copy of the questionnaire, statistical tables, and a 10-page bibliography are included.) (AG)

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BLACK MANAGERS IN WHITE CORPORATIONS

by

John P. Fernandez

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BLACK MANAGERS IN WHITE CORPORATIONS

Abstract by John P. Fernandez

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ABSTRACT

The twentieth century has seen a slow broadening of the business community's narrow recruitment base for management positions. Business executives are being recruited increasingly for their qualifications, rather than their social class, religious affiliation, and ethnic background. Many studies have concentrated on the influence of such factors as education, social class, religious, political and organizational affiliation, age, and sex on the careers of business executives. However, systematic studies of the effect of race on the career patterns of business executives have not been undertaken. This study attempts to fill this void. The two central questions are: 1) What are the major determinants of the career patterns of Black managers in white businesses? 2) What effects do corporations have on their Black managers' identities and relationships to the Black community?

In order to answer these central questions the following subjects were carefully analyzed: (1) occupational mobility theories, especially those theories dealing with managerial mobility; (2) the white and Black managers' career patterns, goals, aspirations, qualifications, job satisfaction, and personal backgrounds; (3) the companies' general employment policies and Affirmative Action Programs; (4) the white and Black managers' understanding of their companies' hiring and promoting policies, their influence on the employment policies of their companies, their agreement with their companies' employment policies, their views about the fairness of their companies' employment policies with regard to Blacks, and their views about the fairness of the corporate world's employment policies with

regard to Blacks; (5) the white and Black managers' racial attitudes and their perceptions of the racial atmosphere which exists in their firms; (6) the effect of social protest such as riots and the civil rights movement on the career patterns of Black managers; and (7) the effect of membership in white corporations on the Black managers' relationships to their communities.

Six of the eight firms participating in this study are among the largest and most influential firms in California, if not the nation. The two remaining firms were smaller operations of large corporations located in the East. Two of the eight firms are banks, two are public utilities, and four are in manufacturing.

Within each firm a random selection procedure was used for selecting the participants. Any deviations were caused by personnel limitations or limitations placed on the sampling procedure by the firms. From all levels of management, 156 white and 116 Black managers participated in the study. Of the 272 managers, 46 were females.

A seven-part administered questionnaire was used in order to collect the data. The interviews took between 1 1/2 and 3 hours to conduct.

The typical Black manager in this study is a 32 year old male, college educated, liberal Democrat, Baptist who comes from a working class background and whose mother is probably more educated than his father. The manager is married to a person with educational achievement similar to his own, who comes from a working class background, and works. The manager lives in an integrated neighborhood, has fairly frequent social contact with whites, and belongs to integrated organizations.

The typical white manager is a 42 year old male, college-educated, moderate Republican, Protestant who comes from a middle class background and whose father is generally more educated than his mother. The manager is married to a person with similar educational achievement, who comes from a middle class family background, and who does not work. The manager lives in an all-white neighborhood, has little social contact with Blacks, and belongs to segregated organizations.

The present situation of Black managers in white corporations is not very hopeful. After thirty years of federal and executive orders, ten years of Plans for Progress, seven years of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and many years of preaching about commitment to equal employment opportunities, Black managers represent only 1.9 percent of the managers in the participating firms. It has only been in the past four years that these firms have made more than token efforts to hire and promote Blacks into management positions, and this was done under increasing pressure from the Federal Government, civil rights groups, and the riots of the 1960's. The few Black managers who are employed by these firms are almost exclusively in low level management positions, generally related to the Black "sphere" and have little, if any, decision-making power.

In general, Black and white managers agree that racial discrimination is the major factor explaining the Black manager's present situation in the corporate world; however, the white managers don't believe this is the case in their firms while the Black managers do. The white managers believe that the lack of qualified Blacks is the major factor explaining the situation of Blacks in their firms. Contrary to the white managers' views of the equal opportunities for Blacks in their firms, all the data indicate that racial discrimination is the major factor explaining the situation of Blacks not only in the corporate world, but also in their firms.

The most important evidence which supports the contention that Blacks are not and were not receiving equal employment opportunities in the participating firms is the regression analysis which shows that just being white adds over $4,000 to a managers yearly salary. It also shows that a college education means about $1,000 more per year for white managers than for Black managers, two years of work experience at the present company adds $320 more per year for white managers, and outside work experience adds $440 more per year for white managers.

Only 10 percent of the Black managers and 17 percent of the white managers indicated the racial atmosphere in their firms is free of any anti-Black sentiment.

Finally, only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not express any negative racial attitudes. The following characteristics quite frequently describe the manager who is most likely to express such attitudes: white, male, middle/upper level, conservative Republican, over 40 years of age, no specific educational achievement, very little contact with Blacks, and very religious. Even though there is the tendency for this group to hold the most racist attitudes, it is quite clear that many whites at every level of age, education, and social background hold racist attitudes.

Evidence was presented which clearly showed that, in general, the Black managers were more ambitious than the white managers.

Other data showed that Black managers were much more dissatisfied with such things as their work environment, promotions, and salary than the white managers. In addition, while overall satisfaction with the work environment increases for white managers as they move up the hierarchical ladder, some evidence indicates that it decreases for Black managers.

The Black managers in this study have more assimilative tendencies than the general Black population. In addition, there seems to be a tendency for the older, middle-level, Black male managers from the middle class to have more assimilative attitudes and behavior than the other groups of Black managers. This indicates that as some Black managers move up the occupational ladder they will become more integrationist in their attitudes and behavior. The degree to which this will happen will depend on the types of jobs the Blacks hold, the racial attitudes of white America in general, and the government's action on integration in housing, schooling, and employment. If Blacks begin to work in areas not related to the Black consumer market and Black employees, if white society begins to accept Blacks as neighbors, colleagues, and friends, and if the government pushes for integration and equality of opportunity, Black managers will be more inclined to follow an integrationist path than a separatist path.

In the final chapter, a new management program is suggested which incorporates job design, joint target setting, and assessment. This management program will help insure Blacks are given more equal opportunities.

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The most significant findings of this study are: 1) white corporations are doing very little to provide Blacks with equal opportunities; 2) Black managers are extremely critical of their opportunities in their firms and in the corporate world in general; 3) white managers, while critical of the corporate world, generally believe their firms are doing a good job in the employment of Blacks; 4) in general, Blacks attribute the present sad state of Black managers to racial discrimination, while white managers attribute it to the Blacks' lack of qualification and their cultural differences; 5) regression analysis shows that the Black position is more accurate because white managers with similar education and work experience make a great deal more money than Black managers; 6) overall the Black managers are more ambitious than white managers and they are much more dissatisfied with their work careers and environment; 7) the Black managers in this study are not losing their

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Professor Wilensky initially suggested the idea of a dissertation about Black managers in white corporations. From that initial suggestion to the completion of this dissertation, Professor Wilensky's close supervision, constructive criticisms and strong support were invaluable. The numerous quotations from his works clearly demonstrate my intellectual debt.

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PREFACE

The twentieth century has seen a slow broadening of the business community's narrow recruitment base for management positions. Business executives are being recruited increasingly for their qualifications, training, and abilities rather than their social class, religious affiliation, and ethnic background. Many studies have analyzed the effects of business leaders' backgrounds on their career patterns. These mobility studies have concentrated on the influence of such factors as education, social class, religious, political and organizational affiliation, age, and sex on the careers of business executives. However, systematic studies of the effect of race on the career patterns of business executives have not been undertaken. This study will attempt to fill this void. The central questions of this study are: (1) What are the major determinants of the career patterns of Black managers in white businesses? (2) What effects do white corporations have on Black managers' identities and relationships with the Black community?

Among the strongest values and beliefs in the United States is the idea that all individuals are and should be guaranteed equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life. When applied to the business world, this ethic would be that individuals' successes or failures are and should be strictly dependent on their abilities, goals, amibitions, and determination.

More than fifty years ago, B. C. Forbes expressed this ethic in most idealistic terms:

> Neither birth nor education, neither nationality nor religion, neither heredity nor environment are passports or obstacles to the highest success in this land of democracy. Only "worth" counts.[1]

Not only does American culture accent equal rights and opportunities, but, as Max Weber argued, modern industrial bureaucratic systems have helped support and maintain the belief in equality of opportunity. More specifically, Weber believed that bureaucracies have a normal tendency to eliminate class differences and in turn the elimination of class differences provides a favorable atmosphere for the development of bureaucracies:

> The development of bureaucracy greatly favors the levelling of social classes and this can be shown historically to be the normal tendency. Conversely, every process of social levelling creates a favourable situation for the development of bureaucracy; for it tends to eliminate class privileges, which include the appropriation of authority as well as the occupation of offices on an honorary basis or as an avocation by virtue of wealth. The combination everywhere inevitably foreshadows the development of mass democracy. . . .[2]

Harold Wilensky expertly summarized the ideal relationship between the large bureaucratic industrial system and the American ethic of equal rights and opportunities:

> . . . every industrial system requires some competition for occupational position on the basis of

---

[1] Quoted in Vance Packard, The Pyramid Climbers (New York, 1962), p. 29.

[2] Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (London, 1947), p. 340.

> criteria relevant to the performance of the role, as well as some system of special reward for scarce talents and skills. It is plausible to assume that these universal structural features of modern economies foster similar mobility ideologies, that in the most diverse political and cultural contexts, doctrines of economic individualism take root: increasing portions of the population in modernizing sectors believe that everyone has an equal opportunity to achieve a better job, everyone has the moral duty to try to get ahead, if a man fails it is at least partly his own fault, and so on. Such notions are widespread in the U. S., again in its most modern sectors.[3]

However, W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen noted that the levelling effects of bureaucracies and the American ethic of equal opportunities for all have yet to reach fruition:

> . . . the operation of rank and the effects of high birth are strongly evidenced in the selection of the American business elite. Men born to the top are more likely to succeed and have more advantages than those born further down. There is not full freedom of competition; the system is still sufficiently status-bound to work to the considerable advantage of men born to higher position. Fathers at the elite levels still find it possible to endow their sons with greater opportunity than those further down enjoy. Nevertheless, they do so now in decreased numbers. The sons of men from the wrong side of the tracks are finding their way increasingly to the places of power and prestige. The values of competitive and open status are felt more today than yesterday and those of inherited position and fixed position, while still powerful, are less potent now than they were a generation ago.[4]

In deciding who will or will not be promoted, large bureaucratic organizations take into consideration ability and job performance criteria as well as ascriptive criteria, most of which are irrelevant to ability and job performance.

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[3] H. L. Wilensky, "Measures and Effects of Social Mobility," in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, ed. by Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset (Chicago, 1966), p. 103.

[4] L. W. Warner and J. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility (Minneapolis, 1955), p. 36.

Although the distinctions are not sharp, some criteria mainly reflecting ability are: educational level, training, work experience, job knowledge, leadership, job performance, and references. Some criteria not mainly reflecting ability are: race, sex, age, class, family background, and religion. Personal references and educational institution attended may reflect both criteria relevant to performance of the role and those not relevant. Other factors such as personality, cultural background, personal life style, and appearance, although they are not generally considered ability criteria, may be critical in some occupational positions. Robert P. Quinn, et al., wrote that the most notable characteristic of the non-ability criteria is their irrelevancy to job performance. Other common characteristics of non-ability criteria are that they are generally conferred by an individual's social background; that most people use these factors as a basis for forming social relations not related to work; and that they usually cannot be modified either by formal education or work-related experience.[5]

There have been many studies which have analyzed the effects of ability and ascriptive criteria on the career patterns of primarily white managers.

Suzanne Keller noted that, in 1952, two-fifths of the

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[5] Robert Quinn, et al., The Chosen Few: A Study of Executive Discrimination in Executive Selection (Michigan, 1968), pp. 2-3.

American business elite went to Harvard, Yale, or Princeton.[6]

Garda W. Bowman in 1962 and 1964 found that a white Protestant male born in the U. S. A. who had a college education was the most promotable manager in the business world. The least promotable manager was an ethnic minority, i.e., Black, Puerto Rican, or Asian or a female.[7]

Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin in 1957 in an article which dealt with businesses and industries in one Southern metropolitan area found that national origin, family status, personal friendships, participation in off-the-job activities, and conformity with the social characteristics of one's supervisors all had their effects on an individual's promotional opportunities.[8]

Melville Dalton in 1951 found that managerial promotions in a New England factory were enhanced greatly if the manager was a white Protestant male who was a member of the Republican Party, the Masons, and the local yacht club.[9]

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[6] Suzanne Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society (New York, 1963).

[7] Garda W. Bowman, "The Image of a Promotable Person in Business Enterprise" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1962). See also Garda W. Bowman, "What Helps or Harms Promotability?" Harvard Business Review, 42, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1964), 6-26, 184-96.

[8] Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin, "Executives and Supervisors: Informal Factors in Differential Bureaucratic Promotion," Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957), 200-215.

[9] Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, 56 (March, 1951), 407-415. For other mobilities see: E. D. Baltzeil, The Protestant Establishment:

What these studies clearly indicate is that, although bureaucracies have had a levelling effect on class differences, certain classes and races of people still have considerable advantages over other classes of people. Put another way, it is evident that, in addition to ability criteria, many ascriptive criteria are taken into consideration when evaluating the promotability of an individual. Furthermore, Weber's levelling theory of bureaucracies was concerned with class differences in all-white societies as opposed to differences in a multi-racial society and thus has more validity when applied to all-white class situations than when applied to multi-racial class situations.

Although the United States has been characterized by large bureaucratic organizations for many generations and Blacks have been guaranteed equal rights and opportunities for over 100 years, the fact that in the past thirty years more than ten executive orders.[10] and a major civil rights bill have been signed into law in order to guarantee Blacks and other minorities equal opportunities in employment and new agencies had to be formed to carry

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Aristocracy and Caste in America (New York, 1964). C. F. Beattie, "Minority Men in a Majority Setting: Middle Level Francophones at at Mid-Career in the Anglophone Public Service of Canada" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970). Randall Collins, "Employment and Education, A Study in the Dynamics of Stratification" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968). Robert P. Quinn, Joyce M. Tabor, and Laura K. Gordon, The Decision to Discriminate: A Study of Executive Selection (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968). N. J. Weller, "Religion and Social Mobility in Industrial Society" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960).

[10] Executive Orders are administered decrees used by the President to implement policies without Congressional approval; however, if money is needed to carry out these orders, the Congress must approve the allocation of funds.

out these laws at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers is adequate testimony that the system has not produced equality of opportunity.

Theodore Caplow gives some insight into why Weber's theory of the levelling effect of bureaucracies has not applied to Blacks:

> The official ideology of any hierarchy necessarily includes the insistence that all promotions are determined by merit and achievement. Popular insight counters with the wistful or derisory observation that all promotions are nepotistic. Both positions are necessarily correct. A functioning hierarchy which wishes to stay in business must necessarily consider the talent of candidates in making its selections. But, even under the most rigorous civil service controls, any such hierarchy will also evaluate the candidate as a potential in-group member, and will therefore give special attention to his congeniality in the broadest sense--a factor which depends upon his ability to conform to the habits and standards of the elders, and also upon the quality of his ancestors, his relatives, and his friends.
>
> The essential reasons for this condition seem to lie in the psychology of group life. As Homans has shown, the mere existence of a face-to-face group presupposes the establishment of group standards, and the continuity of a group depends upon its ability to enforce its standards upon its members. At each hierarchical level certain secondary qualities determine which of a number of equally intelligent or equally efficient candidates for promotion shall be favored. They are by no means the same for all occupations or even for all similar occupations, but general trends can always be discerned.
>
> Other secondary qualities which typically figure in hierarchic promotion are appearance, skills of sociability (including sexual attractiveness), religious and athletic affiliation, participation in formal and informal associations, miscellaneous talents for oratory, poker, or golf, and judiciously conspicuous consumption.

> The most important selective elements, however, are those which have to do with the workings of the hierarchical system itself. Thus, the elders are inclined to select those who are like themselves in general appearance, and who, in addition, have demonstrated specific ability to conform to hierarchic expectations, to render personal services to their sponsors, to conduct themselves prudently in internecine conflicts, and to maintain the interests of the group against all outsiders.
>
> The net effect of hierarchical organization is to bring to the fore persons who have carefully shaped themselves to conform precisely to group norms imposed by authority--including such very delicate nuances as the proper choice of ties and the use of appropriate inflections in conversation.[11]

The potentially harmful effects of the psychology of the executive suite on the Black managers are profound. Although Blacks will be able to resemble the corporate "in-group" in almost every manner, they cannot do so in color. Blacks can, if they wish to and if they have to, change their style of dress, speech, social skills, religious affiliation, political affiliation, and they can learn to play golf, but they can never change their color. Because they cannot change their color which produces negative stereotype attitudes among many whites, they cannot participate fully and equally in many social activities both directly and indirectly related to their work. Blacks in white corporations are generally excluded from achieving any social rapport or familiarity with their supervisors or work groups, thus they are not able to take advantage of those opportunities to display to their supervisors and work groups their social abilities which become increasingly important as one moves up the occupational ladder.

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[11] Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York, 1954), pp. 71-72.

Paul Bullock noted that "subtle discrimination which may exist in a closely knit group is particularly difficult to overcome. A tacit agreement among certain key leaders in a unit can assure that a Negro never performs work above a minimum level of skill and responsibility."[12]

In this study several cases came to light of Black managers not being able completely and fully to become members and participate in the rewards of a group life. For example, one Black manager was so light that people considered him white, unless they had been told otherwise. He had impeccable credentials when he was hired and was completely accepted as one of the boys at work. However, when his work group discovered that he was not white but just a light skinned Black, the attitudes of his white colleagues changed completely. People no longer asked him for advice. He was no longer spoken to freely and no longer invited to join others for lunch or coffee. In short, he was isolated and ignored. This same process of being accepted and then rejected once his white colleagues discovered he was not white had occurred several times in previous jobs.

Thus, to explain the Black executive's position one must combine Weber's levelling theory and the ethic of equal rights and opportunities with an analysis of the internal dynamics of the executive suite.

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[12] Paul Bullock, Equal Opportunity in Employment (Los Angeles, 1966), p. 103.

It cannot be denied that some sectors of American society have been moving slowly forward, with occasional setbacks, toward a more equitable society; however, the extent to which progress has been made in the business world, especially in the managerial ranks, has become a serious and heated issue in the country.

Although many articles and books have been written which discuss the general Black employment situation, there is no complete, in-depth study concentrating on the Black managers in white corporations.[13]

Many of the empirical studies make broad generalizations which are not usually supported by any concrete evidence. For example, Herbert Northrup and his associates at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania put forth in a series of books certain testable hypotheses regarding the tendency of industries to integrate or not integrate their work forces.[14] In general, the books concluded that industries will have more Black workers, if they are located in Northern urban areas where large numbers of Blacks live, the industries are expanding their work forces, and the industries are not consumer oriented. Although Northrup and his associates recognized the existence of discrimination, the general tenor of the books was a lack of qualified Blacks rather than discrimination was the primary factor explaining the number of Blacks in industries, especially the extremely small number in managerial positions. This generalization was made without any concrete supportive data. The primary sources of statistical data used in the books which were reviewed by this writer were aggregate industry statistics on the number of Blacks in various occupational groups compiled by the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U. S. Census of Population and data in possession of the authors. These data do not provide us with statistical information concerning the qualifications of the Black managers at various occupational levels, therefore we are not able to compare the Black managers with their white counterparts. Thus, Northrup et al.'s proposition that Blacks are not making it because they are not qualified is unsubstantiated. Their statistics only present a general picture of the number of Blacks in certain industries.

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[13] In this study the word "manager" will be defined as: managers, officials, and professionals. The exact definitions of these words are similar to the definitions the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission uses in its reporting forms. Their definitions follow:

> Officials and Managers--Occupations requiring administrative personnel who set broad policies, exercise over-all responsibility for execution of these policies, and direct individual departments or special phases of a firm's operations. Includes: officials, executives, middle management, plant managers, department managers and superintendents, salaried foremen who are members of management, purchasing agents and buyers, and kindred workers.
>
> Professional--Occupations requiring either college graduation or experience of such kind and amount as to provide a comparable background. Includes: accountants and auditors, airplane pilots and navigators, architects, artists, chemists, lawyers, etc.

The primary reason the word "manager" is being used in such a broad manner is that many firms have expressed some difficulty in distinguishing between officers, managers, and professionals. In addition, the more technically oriented firms have very few Black managers and/or officers, but a somewhat larger number of Black professionals.

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[14] The following books were reviewed by the writer: The Negro in the Automobile Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1968. The Negro in the Aerospace Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1968. The Negro in the Steel Industry, by Richard L. Rowan, 1968. The Negro in the Chemical Industry, by William H. Quay, 1969. Negro Employment in Basic Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1970. The Negro in the Public Utility Industries, by Bernard E. Anderson, 1970. The Negro in the Insurance Industry, by Linda P. Fletcher, 1970. The Negro in the Meat Industry, by Walter A. Fogel, 1970. The Negro in the Tobacco Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1970. The Negro in the Banking Industry, by Armand J. Thieblot, Jr., 1970.

Jack G. Gourlay's book illustrates another shortcoming found in many studies written about Blacks in white corporations: reliance on data collected from official representatives of the participating companies.[15] Such data tend to be biased because of the loyalty the representatives feel towards their company and/or because these representatives are usually those people who are directly responsible for their companies' employment policies, thus they generally believe they are doing a reputable job with regard to the employment of Blacks.

Gourlay claimed that Blacks had made significant progress in salaried positions because in the interviews he conducted in an American Management Association questionnaire survey the "preponderant majority of executives indicated that they were willing to provide Blacks with equal opportunities." He concluded:

> Objective analysis of all the facts and opinions generated in this research project yields one principal conclusion: that the underlying climate of motivation in virtually all of the

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[15] Jack G. Gourlay, The Negro Salaried Worker (New York, 1965).

> companies studied is one of sincere willingness to deal with the Negro movement in good faith . . . .[16]

However, there is very little concrete evidence to support these pronouncements. As noted before, Gourlay based his statements primarily on the responses of the official representatives (Vice-Presidents of Personnel and Personnel Directors) of the 301 companies who participated in his American Management Association study. He supplied the following companies' data to show the situation of Black salaried workers in the participating firms:

> 164 companies reported Negroes in salaried positions
> 65 companies reported Negroes in professional positions
> 59 companies reported Negroes in supervisory positions
> 23 companies reported Negroes in executive positions
>
> Usually, the company that listed Negroes in executive (middle management) positions also tended to list Negroes in supervisory and/or professional positions. Thus, the statistic to be watched is the smallest one:
>
> > Less than 8 percent of all companies reporting on a random geographic basis have Negroes now employed in executive positions.
> >
> > Only 14 percent of all companies in the survey which reported Negroes in salaried positions indicated that Negroes occupy executive positions. (For professional and supervisory positions the figures are slightly under 40 percent and 36 percent respectively.)
>
> Of the 164 firms that listed Negroes in salared positions, 63 stated that they have Negroes employed in more than one salaried position.[17]

Gourlay's data do not seem to support his statements. They do not give the exact number of Black managers, their managerial levels, job titles, salaries, or any other factors which would be essential for him to know in order to be able to make such positive statements.

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[16] *Ibid*., pp. 8-9.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 79.

A further example of praise for the employment record of a company backed up by questionable statistics appeared in the 1964 Executive Study Conference Proceedings. One of the speakers said:

> Another company, one of many with an exemplary record in providing equal employment opportunity, is the Ford Motor Company. Ford has had Negroes in management positions since the early twenties.
>
> While an exact count of minorities in management is not available before 1962, the company had 58 in management and supervisory positions in 1962 and 71 in 1963. The data for 1964 is not yet available, but the company indicates that the increase since last January is significant, with one plant alone adding approximately 20 minority foremen to the salaried payroll.
>
> Because of its long history in promoting minorities into management positions, Ford has Negroes in jobs at fairly high management levels. A superintendent started as an apprentice die maker; an industrial relations manager over a sizable manufacturing plant, began as a management trainee after college graduation; another industrial relations manager, over a large operation, began as an hourly rated laborer; a division labor representative, a high level position with Ford, started as an employment interviewer.[18]

If Ford Motor Company had been promoting Blacks to management positions since the 1920's, it would seem reasonable to expect that they would have employed more than 71 Blacks in management positions by 1963, and at higher levels.

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[18] The Executive Study Conference Nov. 10-11, 1964 (Princeton, N. J., 1964), p. 10.

The empirical evidence in these studies dealt primarily with the number of Blacks employed by a firm or industry. In other words, the studies to date have generally dealt with the hiring aspects as opposed to the promotional aspects. Hiring is one thing; promoting is another. As Bowman wrote:

> For both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, promotion is a slow and often involved process which includes recruitment, development, and motivation, as well as advancement. Each phase is affected not only by the established procedures but also by the attitudes of those who carry out these observations.[19]

Another major shortcoming of most studies of Black employees is that they generally lack comparative analyses between the views of the Black and white managers (employees) about the fairness of their companies' employment policies toward Black and white employees.[20] In addition, the studies do not compare the managers' views of their companies' employment policies with their views of the corporate world's employment policies. The latter views would probably be more correct with regard to equal employment opportunities for Blacks because the former views would be influenced by such factors as company loyalty and one's own experiences. Furthermore, to agree that one's company has not been equal in their treatment of Blacks, indirectly means the white managers have achieved their positions through an illegitimate system.

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[19] Bowman (1964), pp. 7-8.

[20] One study which does compare white and Black employees' attitudes toward their companies' equal employment practices is Louis A. Ferman's, The Negro and Equal Employment Opportunities (New York: Praeger, 1968). As was found in this study, the views of the Black managers are very unfavorable and those of the white managers very favorable toward their companies' employment policies as they apply to Blacks.

Gourlay's study is confined to white managers' views about their companies' employment policies toward Black salaried workers. A study dealing only with Black managers' views was done by J. S. Morgan and R. L. Van Dyke. They interviewed 42 Black managers covering their personal experiences and views regarding the opportunities that exist for Blacks in the corporate world. Based on these interviews Morgan and Van Dyke drew certain conclusions and offered the participating firms suggestions regarding how they could improve their overall employment practices as they apply to Blacks.[21] Both Gourlay's and Morgan and Van Dyke's studies would have been more valid and persuasive if they had compared the views of both the Blacks and whites rather than only the Blacks or whites.

Another crucial shortcoming of existing studies is that they do not compare the Black and white managers' career patterns, goals, aspirations, job satisfaction, qualifications, family background, and personal background data. As writers such as Coates and Pellegrin, Kahn _et al_., Bowman, and Dalton have recognized, such factors are extremely important in explaining career patterns; therefore, if one wishes to explain the Black managers' situation in the corporate world vis-a-vis the white managers' situation all of the above factors must be included in the analysis. By excluding a comparative analysis of these factors, writers have overlooked potentially important information in explaining the Black and white managers' present situations in the corporate world.[22]

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[21] J. S. Morgan and R. L. Van Dyke, _White Collar Blacks: A Breakthrough_? (New York, 1970).

Still another area in which past studies are deficient is in analyzing the Black and white managers' individual racial attitudes. Furthermore, there have been no attempts to obtain Black and white managers' perceptions of the racial atmosphere, i.e., attitudes, feelings and remarks of other employees, which exists in their firms. By excluding an analysis of Black and white managers' personal racial attitudes and by excluding the managers' perceptions of the racial atmosphere which exists in their firms, these studies missed the crucial fact that Black managers' experiences in white firms do not depend only on their companies' stated employment policies and the individuals' qualifications, but more importantly on what is in the minds of white people. Changes for good or evil in the treatment of Blacks depend as much on white peoples' beliefs and opinions about Blacks as on Blacks' qualifications and stated official company policies.

Another area of weakness in previous studies is that if the difficulties of Black managers or prospective Black managers are discussed, they are typically treated out of social and political context, i.e., they do not analyze the effects on business practices of such social actions as the riots of the 1960's, the civil rights movement, or the pressures and protest of the companies' Black employees.

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[22] David E. Kidder et al. in their study, Negro and White Perceptions on Company Employment Policy in the South (Springfield, Va., 1971) did discuss, in a limited manner, the expectations of Black and white managers, ". . . black perceptions of white employer attitudes and policies on racial integration, and the extent to which employees and employers agree on certain aspects of integration."

And finally, no study concerned itself with the possible conflicts between the Black managers' loyalties and relationships to their communities and those to their companies. That corporations can draw ethnic-religious minorities away from their local ties was noted by Harold L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky. The conflicts which they found among white minority managers, e.g., Jewish and Catholic professionals and managers in WASP dominated firms, can arise in sharpened form among Black managers in WASP dominated firms.[23]

In short, existing studies are incomplete and superficial in their analysis and limited in their context. They do not give the reader a clear, concise, accurate picture about the Black and white managers' views and attitudes toward their companies' employment policies. They do not compare the career patterns, goals, aspirations, job satisfaction, qualifications, and personal backgrounds of the Black and white managers. They do not attempt to obtain an impression of the managers' racial attitudes and the racial atmosphere which exists in the managers' companies. They do not attempt to analyze the effect of larger social and political contexts on the career patterns of Black managers. And finally, they do not analyze the conflicts between community relationships and enterprise relationships which may arise in Black managers as they begin to participate in more meaningful positions in the corporate world.

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[23] Harold L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky, "From Religious Community to Occupational Group: Structural Assimilation Among Professors, Lawyers, and Engineers," American Sociological Review, 32 (August, 1967), 541-561.

One of the main reasons for the lack of thorough studies is that until the late 1950's and the 1960's there have been very few Black managers in white corporations, largely because of the "closed door" policy of the white business community. However, there also seems to have been a lack of interest and opportunity to study such a sensitive, complex problem.[24]

In order to answer the central questions of this dissertation, "What are the major determinants affecting the career patterns of Black managers in white businesses?", and "What effects do white corporations have on Black managers' identities and relationships with the Black community?", the following subjects will be carefully analyzed: (1) occupational mobility theories, especially those dealing with managerial mobility; (2) the white and Black managers' career patterns, goals, aspirations, qualifications, job satisfaction, and personal backgrounds; (3) the companies' general employment policies and Affirmative Action Programs; (4) the white and Black managers' understanding of their companies' hiring and promoting policies, their influence on the employment policies of their companies, their agreement with their companies' employment policies, their views about the fairness of their companies' employment policies with regard to Blacks, and their views about the fairness of the corporate world's employment policies with regard to Blacks; (5) the white and Black managers' racial attitudes and their perceptions of the racial atmosphere which exists in their firms; (6) the effect of social actions such as riots and the civil rights movement on the career patterns of Black managers; and (7) the effect of membership in white corporations on the Black managers' relationships to their communities.

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[24] The writer was warned by people in the academic, research, and business community that it would be extremely difficult to obtain the cooperation of white businesses to participate in this study because of the business community's extremely sensitive and cautious views toward equal employment opportunities for Blacks.

This study aims to produce new knowledge and understanding regarding Black managers in white businesses. These new data will, hopefully, help accelerate the progress of firms and agencies which are already moving in the direction of full and effective utilization of Blacks at all levels of management and serve as a spur to those employers who have not yet begun to move. Finally, it is hoped that this study will clearly show the immediate need for concrete, determined governmental, social, and business action to improve the situation of Black managers in white businesses.

CHAPTER I

RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The basic research design used for this study will be discussed in three sections. The first section discusses the procedure used in selecting the eight firms which participated in this study. The second section describes the procedures used to select the 156 white managers and the 116 Black managers from the eight participating firms as well as deviations from the basic selection procedure and the number, sex, and managerial levels of the participating managers. The final section deals primarily with the survey instrument and the writer's rationale for using it. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the survey instrument is included in this section.

Selection of the Firms

In view of the limitations of financial resources it was decided to confine the study primarily to firms with headquarters located in the San Francisco Bay area and the Los Angeles area. Because of the intensive, time-consuming interviews, it was initially decided to limit the number of firms to ten and the number of managers from each firm from a minimum of ten Black and ten white managers to a maximum of fifteen each.

Six of the eight firms finally selected are listed in Fortunes 500; four of the eight firms are among the top ten firms in California dollar-volume. The six largest firms have a total employment force of approximately 210,000, 85 percent of whom are employed in California. In short, these firms are among the largest, most powerful, and most influential firms in California.

The firms were selected because they are leaders within their industries, they each have a heavy impact on the economy and on employment practices in California--if not the entire country--and they are influential in molding both public and private opinions with regard to equal employment opportunities. More specifically, their positions within this society make them leading candidates for social change. If there are going to be any great changes in society initiated by the business community, these companies must be among the leaders.

Beyond geographical location, four secondary criteria were used to make the final selection of the firms. There was a desire to have at least two sets of two firms from the same industry so that a comparative analysis could be made between the firms from the same industry. There was also a desire to include two small operations of large corporations with headquarters not located in California--to see if Black managers fared better or worse in small, somewhat autonomous operations of large, nationally known corporations. The third selection aim was to include two firms which are part of the same parent company but somewhat autonomous in the policy making area (except for general directions set forth by the Chairman of the Board). The purpose was to locate local similarities and differences in the companies' employment policies (Affirmative Action Programs)[1] toward Blacks. Finally, there was a desire to obtain a distribution of firms between those which are subject to public (governmental) regulation and those which are not. By this contrast the writer hoped he could determine to what extent governmental regulation is effective in assisting Blacks to receive meaningful equal employment opportunities.

Initially ten letters were sent out to the Personnel Vice-Presidents or their representatives in the companies which were the primary firms that the writer and his advisors hoped would participate in the study. The letter indicated they would be contacted in two weeks in order to discuss the project in greater detail.

When the firms were called, positive responses were received from eight of the representatives. Two firms in the transportation industry replied negatively by letter before they could be contacted. Both indicated they have had too many requests for participation in such studies; therefore, they had put a moratorium on such activities. Letters were sent to two more transportation firms and again negative responses were received before direct contact could be made.[2]

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[1] Affirmative Action Programs (AAPs) are programs designed to place extra efforts in the area of employment of minorities.

[2] These four letters were the types of responses some people in research organizations and the business and academic communities warned the writer that he would receive because of

In the meantime, the writer met several times with representatives from several of the companies who, after lengthy discussions, indicated that they would like a larger number of their managers to be interviewed. Therefore, it was decided to limit the study to eight firms rather than ten and to request the participation of fifteen white and fifteen Black managers from each firm instead of a minimum of ten each. It was hoped that each firm would allow five upper level managers, five middle level managers, and five lower level managers of each race to be interviewed.

The eight firms which finally participated in this study were two banks, two public utilities, and four manufacturing firms. Of the four manufacturing firms, two belonged to the same parent company. The remaining two firms were smaller operations of large corporations with headquarters located in the East. In order to keep the firms anonymous, each firm was given a fictitious name and in this study will always be referred to by that name. The two public utilities are named Ace Public Utility and Deuce Public Utility; the two banks, Triple A Bank and Triple C Bank; the two manufacturing firms from the same parent company Aunts Manufacturing Company and Cousins Manufacturing Company; and the two small manufacturing operations are Ajax Manufacturing Company and Century Manufacturing Company.

Although Ace Public Utility, Triple C Bank, and Aunts Manufacturing Company eventually requested that more than thirty of

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the sensitivity of the subject area. In fact, many of these people said the writer would never obtain cooperation from white businesses which, of course, proved to be wrong.

their managers be interviewed, they were, at first, somewhat hesitant about participating in the study. The writer had to prove his credibility and the validity and usefulness of the study to these firms. The writer had an even more difficult time convincing the other firms, with the exception of Ajax Manufacturing Company. In fact, two of the other firms almost refused to participate. Several of the managers in these two companies indicated that the main reason their companies finally did decide to participate was because they knew that six other firms, with some of whom they had a great deal of contact, were participating in the study.

The Selection Procedure

The procedure generally used by the firms in selecting the managers was a disproportional, stratified, systematic sampling model. When possible this model divided the managers by race (Black and white), managerial level (lower, middle, and upper), and location (San Francisco/Los Angeles and other). After achieving this basic breakdown, the firms were able to select the managers in the following manner. Each firm selected a random number and from their lists selected each person whose name coincided with the number. Names of women coincided with the random numbers and were, therefore, included in the study.

The random procedure described above was not closely followed when selecting the Black middle level managers and the white and Black female middle and upper level managers because there were very few of them and it was desired to have as many of these unique managers participating as possible. Approximately 80 percent of all the Black middle level managers from the firms were interviewed. In four of the six large companies all of their Black middle level managers were interviewed. With regard to middle and upper level female managers, the only two upper level white female managers and the only Black middle level female manager in all of these companies were interviewed. Two of the companies only had one white middle level female manager each and both were interviewed.

In the two small firms, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies, the random selection procedure was not carefully followed because of personnel limitations. Ajax Manufacturing had only three Black managers in a managerial work force of eighty-five and Century Manufacturing had only two Black managers in a managerial work force of 171; therefore, all of the Black managers were selected for the study. However, only four of the five were interviewed because one of the two Black managers in Century Manufacturing was transferred to New York. All five Blacks were lower level managers. In addition, five of the top seven white managers in Century Manufacturing and seven of ten in Ajax Manufacturing were interviewed. Only two of the twelve were actually considered upper level managers in the overall corporate structure.

In Cousins Manufacturing only thirteen Black managers were interviewed because two men selected for the study were on vacation during the two weeks the interviewers were in Los Angeles and there were no other Black managers to replace them. In addition, the goal of twenty-five Black and twenty-five white managers in Aunts Manufacturing was not reached because of a 20 percent reduction in the company's work force during the interview period.

Three companies deviated from the random selection procedure not because of personnel restrictions but because of restrictions placed on the sampling procedure by the firms themselves. The senior managers from Triple C Bank were personally selected by the Vice-President who was the writer's initial contact. In addition, both Cousins Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility restricted the number of senior managers who could be interviewed to one and two, respectively. The companies' representatives indicated that many of their top managers were not available to participate in the study.

Only two Black and two white managers who were asked to participate refused. The two Blacks indicated that they did not want to "get involved in any study on race." The two white indicated that they were not interested in participating in any type of study.

In the final sample 272 managers were interviewed, 156 whites and 116 Blacks. In these subtotals there were thirty white upper level or senior managers, including two white female managers; thirty-four Black and seventy-nine white middle level managers, including one Black female and five white females; and eighty-two Black and forty-seven white lower level managers, including twenty-two Black females and sixteen white females. Thus, women made up forty-six of the 272 managers.

Table 1 shows the number of participating managers by race, sex, and company. Notice that Cousins, Ajax, and Century Manufacturing Companies did not have any female managers, Black or white, participating in the study. In fact, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies did not employ any female managers.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND SEX OF PARTICIPATING MANAGERS FROM EACH COMPANY

Company	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females
Ace Public Utility	14	12	17	10
Triple C Bank	21	4	25	5
Cousins Manufacturing	13	0	15	0
Aunts Manufacturing	17	2	20	2
Triple A Bank	13	1	13	4
Ajax Manufacturing	3	0	15	0
Century Manufacturing	1	0	15	0
Deuce Public Utility	11	4	13	2
Total	93	23	133	23

In sum: approximately 14 percent of the Black managers in these firms were interviewed. If one subtracts the 508 Black managers in Ace Public Utility from the total of 822 Black managers in all of the companies and the twenty-six in that company from the total of 116, 29 percent of all the Black managers in the remaining seven companies were interviewed.

Table 2 shows the percentage of Black managers from each company who participated in the study.

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF BLACK MANAGERS PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY FROM EACH FIRM

Company	Black Managers (N=116)
Ace Public Utility	5 %
Triple C Bank	22
Cousins Manufacturing	37
Aunts Manufacturing	25
Triple A Bank	30
Ajax Manufacturing	100
Century Manufacturing	50
Deuce Public Utility	40
Total	29

As was noted before, approximately 80 percent of the Black middle level managers were interviewed. Although only a small percentage, .4 percent, of the white managerial work force in all the companies were interviewed, 10 percent of the senior policy makers in the four large firms, excluding Cousins Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility, were interviewed.

Because of the relaxation of the random selection criteria, because of the desire to study special categories of personnel, i.e., women and Blacks above lower level positions, because of personnel restrictions of the companies, and because of restrictions placed on the selection of personnel by the companies, this sample is not representative of any large population. But it does represent a range of variation by race, sex, and managerial level which will provide insight into the career patterns of Black managers in white corporations as compared to those of the white managers.

After the participants were selected, the firms sent out a letter of introduction and a biographical sketch of the writer to their participating managers along with a request for their voluntary participation. Each manager was asked to set aside two hours for an interview.

Survey Instrument

It was decided that a personally administered questionnaire would produce the most extensive and reliable data. There were several reasons for this. First, mailed questionnaires were unlikely to be returned in large numbers. Second, the length of the questionnaire might have deterred the participants from completing the questionnaire and/or giving careful, reliable responses. An administered questionnaire would allow the interviewer to obtain more precise, unambiguous answers to the open-ended questions. And third, the interviewer would be able to make a judgment as to the demonstrated interest, openness, sincerity, and honesty of each of the managers. The writer and his advisors were aware that some managers might be more honest and open if they were allowed to fill out the questionnaire on their own; however, it was believed that administered questionnaires' advantages outweighed the advantages of mailed or non-administered questionnaires.

The questionnaire included both open-ended and close-ended questions.[3] On the one hand, a completely open-ended questionnaire would allow the interviewers more latitude to include their personal biases as they recorded the responses; on the other hand, a completely close-ended questionnaire would not allow the interviewers to obtain the more personal views, attitudes, and feelings of the managers.

In the initial meetings with the companies' representatives, the opportunity to review the questionnaire and make suggestions about its format and content was agreed upon.

The primary objections to the questionnaire centered around the length and the content of the personal background questions. In the first draft seen by the firms, the personal background section came at the beginning. In the second draft sent to the firms, the personal background questions were switched to the final section and several questions were eliminated. After the second draft was sent to the firms, there were still two firms which objected to the personal background questions. At interviews with representatives of these companies, it was pointed out that the study could not be significant or complete if those questions were not included. The writer provided literature which showed the manner in which personal background information had been used in other mobility studies. After the representatives reviewed the literature, they agreed that the personal background questions would be important for the study.

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[3] See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire.

The final questionnaire was set up as follows. In the first section the managers answered questions about their promotional opportunities, goals, job histories, and job satisfaction. It was hoped this would involve the managers personally in the study. The second section posed questions about the managers' relationships to their companies' employment policies in the areas of influence, understanding, agreement, and practice. The third section attempted to obtain the managers' views and attitudes about the opportunities that existed in the past and that presently exist in their firms and in the corporate world for Black managers. These three sections were administered to both the Black and white managers. The first part of the fourth section, administered specifically to the white managers, asked questions about their attitudes toward the Black managers in their firm and Black people in general. The second part of the fourth section, administered specifically to the Black managers, asked additional questions about their personal experiences in their firms and their attitudes about opportunities for Blacks in the white business world. In addition, this section attempted to find out what the Black managers' relationships are to the Black community, their views regarding the effect of the corporate world on Blacks, and their views as to what is the best strategy for Blacks to pursue in this country in their quest for equality. The fifth section, which was completed by both the Black and white managers, dealt with their image of the promotable manager in business. In this section, the managers were asked to indicate whether the twenty-five factors listed in the chart were irrelevant, helpful, or harmful for promotion to supervisor and beyond, ideally in their opinions, actually in their firms, and actually in business in general. Sections six and seven were administered only to the companies' personnel representatives and Affirmative Action Co-ordinators. These two sections were concerned with the companies' recruiting, hiring, testing, training, and promoting policies and with the structure of their Affirmative Action Programs. The final section sought information about the personal backgrounds of the managers. Information such as marital status, educational achievement, family background, organizational, religious and political affiliations was obtained.

Twenty-five trial interviews in three of the firms were conducted by the writer and his two assistants. These interviews were helpful in eliminating additional questions which reduced the general time for the Black managers' interviews from two and one-half hours to one and one-half to two hours and the white managers' interviews from two hours to one and one-quarters to one and three-quarters hours. The trial interviews also were helpful in refining some of the administrative procedures. Although some of the interviews took as long as three hours to complete, depending on the verbosity of the interviewee, only two Black managers and eight white managers expressed or showed concern over the length of the interviews.

In order to assure that the responses would be frank and honest, five steps were taken. One step was to have both Black and white interviewers. The writer obtained the assistance of two white interviewers, Gerald Bradshaw and Caroline Kerr, to conduct approximately half of both the Black and white interviews. The writer was the Black interviewer. Previous studies have indicated that interviewees are inclined to be more honest in their responses with someone from the same race than with someone from a different race, especially when the subject deals with race.[4] However, after careful analysis of all of the responses of the interviewees, and reviewing tables which used interviewers as a control variable, no significant differences were found in the aggregate responses of the managers, regardless of the interviewer's racial background.

There are several possible explanations for this lack of variance between the responses of the managers who were interviewed by an interviewer of their own race and the responses of the managers who were not. The Black managers may have felt comfortable dealing with whites since most of these managers live rather integrated lives and have been conditioned to or become accustomed to white interviewers. In discussing the openness of the white managers' responses, several of the white managers who are in charge of Personnel or their companies' Affirmative Action Programs told the writer that at the present time many whites are willing to admit that Blacks are treated unfairly in business but are generally not willing to admit that Blacks are treated unfairly in their companies. They also said that whites are more willing to express their negative racial views than in the past. However, the problem of response bias arises when one attempts to find out why the individuals have such racial views, the validity of them, and what they are doing to try to overcome them. One middle level white manager from Ace Public Utility said that many whites will admit to harboring certain negative racial attitudes about Blacks because they rationalize that all people in America are racist since the society is racist. A typical comment: "Certainly I have racist attitudes, all people, Black or white, are racists." And a final explanation for the lack of apparent response bias is that the skills of the interviewers may have been such that they were able to provide an atmosphere conducive to candid, honest answers.

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[4] Gary Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York, 1967). See also Louis A. Ferman, The Negro and Equal Employment Opportunities (New York, 1968).

The percent of interviews completed by each interviewer is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF INTERVIEWS COMPLETED BY STAFF

Interviewer	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
John	49 %	42 %
Caroline	29	35
Gerald	22	23
Total	100	100

Although there were no significant differences between the responses of the interviewees who were interviewed by someone of the same race and those who were not, several Black managers requested that they be interviewed by a Black and their requests were honored. These managers indicated they wanted to be interviewed by the Black project director because they wanted their responses interpreted and presented properly. They felt a white interviewer would consciously or unconsciously distort their responses.

Several other Black managers confronted Caroline, a white woman, about her participation in a study primarily concerned about Blacks. After she explained the purpose of cross-race interviews, all the interviewees decided that they would participate in the study. In fact, several of Caroline's best interviews were those with the Blacks who first complained about her race.

Another step taken, to insure honesty and frankness, was to conduct all of the interviews in private. The only people present at the interview session were the interviewer and the interviewee.

A third step was to assure the interviewees complete anonymity. This was done in two ways. First, the participants were assured that their names would not appear on any part of the questionnaire or be mentioned in the study. Second, they were assured that none of the information in the interview schedule would be released to their company in any manner which would allow the company to identify a particular manager as the source of the data.

The fourth step taken was to have only those managers who voluntarily agreed to participate involved in the study.

The final step was to include many differently worded questions designed to measure the same basic concept throughout various sections of the interview schedule. For example, there were seven questions which attempted to find out how equal and fair the managers' believed their companies' employment policies are towards Blacks and another seven questions attempted to measure the overall job satisfaction of the managers.

Interview Quality

Immediately after each interview, the interviewers were to indicate on the questionnaire how much rapport they had with the interviewee, how they rated the quality of the interview, to what degree the interviewee seemed interested in the study, and if the length of the interview affected the interviewee in any way.

Since the writer could not do all of the interviews himself and it was not desirable, the interviewers' evaluations were extremely helpful in evaluating the validity of the interviewees' responses and in giving the writer some insight as to why an interview might not have been of high quality. Was it because of lack of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee or was it because of the manager's lack of interest and/or the manager's evasiveness, suspiciousness, and/or lack of understanding of the questions?

As can be seen in Table 4, the interviewers believed that a substantial majority of the Black interviews and a majority of the white interviews were of high quality, i.e., the managers were not generally evasive, suspicious, or confused.

TABLE 4

QUALITY OF THE INTERVIEWS

Quality	Black Managers* (N=114)	White Managers** (N=153)
Questionable	3 %	5 %
Generally Adequate	23	44
High Quality	74	51
Total	100	100

*There were missing data on two cases.

**There were missing data on three cases.

Several examples of why an interview was rated questionable are: One of the older, less educated Black managers just promoted to management from a non-management job was "jokingly" told by his superior that, "he better not give away any company secrets." During the interview this Black manager was very careful to make sure he responded properly. In other words, he seemed to say only what he thought his boss expected him to say--everything is fine, there are no problems, the company is more than fair, and I am completely satisfied. One white manager did not like many of the questions because of their "personal" character. In addition, he was quite upset about the length of the interview. His answers, while probably honest, were short and not very detailed because he wanted to finish the interview as quickly as possible.

As would be expected, the quality of the interviews and the interest of the interviewees were directly related. Table 5 lists the degree of interest of the interviewees in the study as perceived by the interviewers.

TABLE 5

INTEREST OF THE INTERVIEWEES

Interest	Black Managers* (N=114)	White Managers** (N=155)
High	75 %	50 %
Low	22	37
Average	3	13
Total	100	100

*There were missing data on two cases.

**There was missing data on one case.

All three interviewers believed they had excellent rapport with 22 percent more of the Black managers than the white managers. This difference is shown in Table 6.

The 20 to 24 percent difference between the evaluations of the Black and white managers' questionnaires in Tables 4 to 6 may be attributed to several sources. One is that the priority of equal employment opportunities is much greater in the minds of

TABLE 6

INTERVIEWERS' RAPPORT WITH THE INTERVIEWEES

Rapport	Black Managers* (N=114)	White Managers** (N=153)
Excellent throughout	78 %	56 %
Average	20	39
Poor throughout	2	3
Started good, became poor	0	1
Started poor, became good	0	1
Total	100	100

*There were missing data on two cases.

**There were missing data on three cases.

the Black managers; consequently, they would be more interested in this study and more concrened about the quality of their answers than the white managers. Many of the white managers, as some of the following chapters will clearly indicate, believe the need for equal employment opportunities for Blacks has been overemphasized; thus, they were not as interested as the Black managers in this type of study and this lack of interest is reflected in their responses. Another reason for the differences in evaluation of the interviews is that the major emphasis of the study is on the Black managers' career patterns and not on the white managers' career patterns; therefore, the differences which occur between the Black and white managers' degree of interest, rapport with the interviewers, and quality of the interviews could be expected. Finally, the white managers' responses with regard to the opportunities that exist for Blacks in their companies would be influenced more than the Black managers' responses by their loyalty to their company because the white managers generally have served a much longer time with their companies; the most loyal managers would be most tempted to portray a favorable image of their companies' employment policies resulting in less candid responses.

The final table in this section shows the breakdown of the three previous factors in each of the firms. Only the positive data are listed, i.e., the number of high quality interviews, the number of interviewees who had a high degree of interest, and the number of interviewees with whom the interviewers had excellent rapport. In general, the companies will be listed in order starting with the company whose white managers scored the highest on these factors and ending with the company whose white managers scored the lowest.

As one can see from Table 7, there are differences among the companies. Although the differences cannot be attributed to any specific factors, several explanations seem reasonable. One is that the more emphasis the firms have placed on the intent and meaning of equal employment opportunity laws and the good faith effort that is required to carry them out the more the white managers would be interested in the study. However, the

TABLE 7

INTERVIEWS EVALUATED BY COMPANIES

Companies	High Quality		High Interest		Excellent Rapport	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Ace Public Utility	76%	81%	84%	85%	88%	81%
Ajax Manufacturing	100	60	100	60	100	73
Triple A Bank	64	59	64	65	64	71
Deuce Public Utility	57	53	57	47	71	40
Aunts Manufacturing	69	46	79	46	79	59
Triple C Bank	84	50	80	40	80	43
Century Manufacturing	100	20	100	27	100	60
Cousins Manufacturing	69	20	62	20	69	13

emphasis placed on the Affirmative Action Programs of these firms could produce white managers who would be less interested in the study because they might feel that their companies place too much emphasis on these Programs. To which extreme the white managers went could also depend on their racial attitudes.

After the interviews were completed and reviewed, a tentative code for quantifying the responses was developed and tested on 100 completed questionnaires. A revised code was then tested on 200 questionnaires. The final coding scheme was developed to code all of the 272 interview schedules.

In order to produce tables and conduct other statistical analysis, the PICKLE system, Berkeley Transposed File Statistical System, which is primarily designed to handle the data and statistical operations employed in the analysis of survey data was used. It was developed by the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley.

Summary and Conclusions

Six of the eight firms participating in this study were among the largest and most influential firms in California, if not the nation. The two remaining firms were smaller operations of large corporations located in the East. Two of the eight firms are banks, two are public utilities, and four are in manufacturing.

Within these firms the writer used a random selection procedure but was forced to deviate from randomness by either personnel limitations or limitations placed on the sampling procedure by the firms. In the end, 156 white and 116 Black managers from all levels of management participated in the study. Of the 272 managers, 46 were females.

A seven part administered questionnaire which was used in order to collect the data rather than a mailed or non-administered questionnaire was decided upon. Five steps were taken to assure that the responses would be as candid and honest as possible. A vast majority of the Black managers' and a majority of the white managers' questionnaires were of high quality.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL PROFILE OF THE MANAGERS

Introduction

This chapter presents a general profile of the managers who participated in this study. Some of the personal characteristics which will be analyzed are: geographical background, age, education, marital status, religious preference, political philosophy and affiliation, and organizational affiliations. Additional information will be presented on where the managers lived as teenagers and as adults, their mothers' and fathers' educational achievement, their fathers' occupation and their spouses' fathers' occupation.

These profiles are a necessary context for understanding the present position and outlook of the managers. In addition, data on social origins, education, and social participation will be used throughout the [illegible] to help explain similarities and differences in the career patterns of the Black and white managers.

Geographical Backgrounds

Although this study includes only firms with headquarters located in the San Francisco Bay area and the Los Angeles area, the managers in this study come from almost every state in the union. Fifty percent of the white managers and 22 percent of the Black managers lived in California most of the time until they were eighteen years of age. Most of the other white managers, 38 percent, lived primarily in the Northeast or Midwest and 47 percent of the Black managers lived in the South. Because of the regional sample, the vast majority of the white managers and a majority of the Black managers have lived most of their adult lives in California.[1]

Ages

As Table 1 shows the Black managers who participated in this study are generally much younger than the white managers. The mean age of the Black managers is thirty-two and of the white managers is forty-one.

A possible explanation for the big difference in age between the Black and white managers is that the firms have only recently (1967) began to hire and promote more than a few token Blacks into management positions. When these firms began to seek more Black managers, only Ace Public Utility already had a large number of Blacks in non-managerial positions whom the company could promote to managerial positions; therefore, the companies began to actively recruit young, college educated Blacks.

However, there have been moves recently by some of the firms to hire older, college educated Blacks who already have management experience in universities, the government (military), social agencies, and/or their own businesses. This is supported by the fact that 47 percent of the Black managers over forty have been with their firms four or less years, all have college degrees, all have had lengthy experience in at least one of the four areas of work just mentioned, and all are middle level managers.

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[1] See Appendix B, pp. 530-531, for the frequency distribution of where the managers lived most of their lives as teenagers and as adults.

TABLE 1

THE MANAGERS' AGES

Age	Black Managers (N=116)	Cumulative Frequencies	White Managers (N=156)	Cumulative Frequencies
21-25 Years	13 %	13 %	2 %	2 %
26-30 Years	26	39	10	12
31-35 Years	27	66	9	21
36-40 Years	18	84	19	40
41-45 Years	9	93	19	59
46-50 Years	6	99	20	89
51-55 Years	0	0	15	94
56-60 Years	1	100	5	99
Over 60 Years	0		1	100
Refuse to give	0		1	101
Total	100		101*	

$p \leq .05$

*The percent is over 100 because of rounding errors.

As will be seen throughout the study, age, among other things such as education and sex, has a strong influence on many of the managers' attitudes and opinions.

The Managers' Educational Backgrounds

In this section the managers' educational achievements, their major areas of study, and the schools they attended will be discussed.

Warner and Abegglen, among others,[2] have rightly noted that lack of money and other restrictions to higher education have limited the number of Black people and working class people from obtaining a college education;[3] however, R. S. and H. M. Lynd have also rightly noted that: "If education is oftentimes taken for granted by the business class, it is no exaggeration to say that it evokes the fervor of a religion, a means of salvation, among a large section of the working class."[4] The Lynds' statement is supported by this study. On the one hand, although two out of three of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds, nine out of ten of them completed at least one year of college. On the other hand, two out of three of the white managers come from middle and upper class[5] backgrounds and only three out of four completed at least one year of college.

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[2] See also Patricia C. Sexton, Education and Income (New York, 1961).

[3] W. L. Warner and J. Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America (New York, 1963), pp. 34-58. Also see W. L. Warner and J. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility (Minneapolis, 1955), pp. 95-114.

[4] R. S. and H. M. Lynd, Middletown (New York, 1929), p. 187.

[5] Working class, as defined in this study, includes the managers who come from families where the father was a skilled/unskilled laborer, service worker, small farmer, etc. Middle/upper class, as defined in this study, includes the managers who come from families where the father was a business owner, corporate manager, educator, professional etc.

Richard E. Peterson noted that many white middle class students are questioning the need for a college degree. While these white middle class men and women are questioning the need for a college degree, they are being replaced by working class whites and large numbers of minorities who believe a college education is their ticket to a better life:

> There is little doubt that the educational and career interests of college-age youths are undergoing rapid change. First, there is evidence that increasing numbers of youths are choosing not to attend a college or university, at least not in a lockstep manner . . . . Thus the leveling-off of enrollments can be attributed to . . . a sense that a college degree may not be the only key to the good life, which may not be so temporary.

Concluding, he noted:

> Responding to nearly a decade of steadily increasing pressures, the colleges and universities, at almost all points of access, are now admitting record numbers of minority students: first Blacks, now Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. Mexican-Americans increased by 19% and Blacks by 17%.[6]

Table 2 shows the educational levels achieved by the managers by race and sex. Notice that the males are more educated than the females and both the Black males and females have completed more years of college than their white counterparts. As one would expect, the higher up the managerial ladder the managers are, the more likely they are to have college degrees.

Considering the emphasis on high educational achievement for advancement in business in recent years, this finding is not startling. What is more significant is the fact that the Black managers have more years of college than their white peers. Not

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[6] R. E. Peterson, "American College and University Enrollment Trends in 1971," A Technical Report Sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, June, 1972, pp. 30-32.

TABLE 2

MANAGERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Educational Levels	Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Grade School	0 %	0 %	1 %	0 %
9th Grade	0	0	1	0
10th Grade	0	0	1	0
12th Grade	8	13	20	52
1 Year of College	5	22	7	13
2 Years of College	20	26	12	9
3 Years of College	2	0	2	0
Bachelors Degree	42	30	29	9
Graduate School	23	9	28	17
Total	100	100	101*	100

p≤.05

*The percent is over 100 because of rounding errors.

only do 30 percent more of the Black middle level managers have a higher level of education (at least a bachelors degree) than their white peers, but also approximately twice the percentage of Black middle level managers as white middle level managers have done graduate work--46 percent of the Black middle level managers and only 23 percent of the white middle level managers. In addition, only 3 percent of the Black middle level managers have a minimum of a high school education, compared to 28 percent of the white middle level managers and 13 percent of the white upper level managers. Only 11 percent of the Black lower level managers have a minimum of a high school education, compared to 32 percent of their white peers.

These figures support a consistent claim made by the vast majority of the Black managers and supported by many of the white managers in this study: that Black managers normally have to be more qualified (educated) than white managers in order to get equal positions.[7] The figures also refute the following claim by Kidder, et al.:

> It is interesting, though given the age disparity perhaps not surprising, that Black sample members were more likely to have completed 16 plus years of education than were white respondents (5[illegible]% versus 46%). Yet, whites in this sample attended college in essentially the same proportion as did blacks (72% versus 7[illegible]%). These figures lend little support to speculation that blacks must over-compensate in educational attainment to reach an occupational level comparable with less qualified whites.[8]

They based their conclusions on a sample of only thirty-three Blacks who were selected in various non-random fashions such as ". . . leads, and contacts and the like."[9] Furthermore, only fifty white managers made up the white sample. The information they presented on the managers' educational achievement was drawn from another study and the selection procedure they used was not discussed. Their conclusions are therefore dubious.[10]

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[7] It should be noted that substantial attitudinal and quantitative data will be presented in Chapters V and VI which will further support this claim.

[8] D. E. Kidder, et al., p. 20.

[9] Ibid., p. 16.

A. Subject areas in which the managers received their degrees

Twenty-four percent of the Black and white managers received degrees in scientific fields; 38 percent of the Black and 36 percent of the white managers received degrees in the social sciences or humanities area; and 44 percent of the Black and 58 percent of the white managers received degrees in the "technical"-professional fields, i.e., business administration, accounting, economics, and law. Notice that if economics had been included under the heading of social sciences and humanities, 42 percent of the Black and [illegible] percent of the white managers would have received their degrees in those areas.[11]

These figures tend to cast some doubt on the business community's contention that they are unable to find qualified Black managers because most Blacks have degrees in the social sciences and humanities rather than in the areas of business and science. The firms who participated in this study have been able to find Blacks with business and scientific backgrounds. Furthermore, these firms utilize managers with all types of educational training.

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[10] See Appendix B, pp. 531-532, for the frequency distribution of the degrees the managers received.

[11] See Appendix B, pp. 532-533, for the frequency distribution of the subject areas in which the managers received their degrees.

B. Colleges and universities attended by the participating managers

Thirty-six percent of the Black managers who received bachelors degrees attended predominantly Black Southern colleges or universities. This high percentage of graduates from predominantly Black colleges in these California-based firms is due primarily to recruitment efforts of some of the firms to hire Blacks with scientific backgrounds.

Most of the white managers who received their degrees from public universities and colleges attended the "select" public schools more than any other type of schools. The primary reason for this is that many of the managers attended the University of California system, especially U. C. Berkeley. As a result, only a few of the managers attended private "select" schools such as Harvard, Stanford, and MIT.[12]

Students of social stratification have often observed that not only is high educational achievement important for success in the business world, but also the type of school attended.[13] Bendix and Lipset wrote:

> If the college degree can be said to be a badge of eligibility for top white collar jobs, then we must note that the badge comes in different school colors and carries a differential reward accordingly., College education "pays" more or less according to the

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[12] See Appendix B, pp. 533-534, for the frequency distribution of the colleges and universities attended by the managers.

[13] See also Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West, They Went to College (New York, 1952), pp. 179-181.

> type of college one goes to, in rough proportion to the size of the endowment per student.
>
> Furthermore, among the graduates of the wealthier colleges and universities, the graduates of the Ivy League colleges have the highest earnings. And, among these, the graduates of the so-called Big Three Eastern Men's Schools (Harvard, Yale, and Princeton) earn more money at every point in their careers than any other group of college men.[14]

In this study, of the twenty-three upper level white managers who had college degrees, 61 percent attended either Ivy League schools or "select" private or public universities; 48 percent of the white middle level managers and 21 percent of the lower level managers attended Ivy League or "select" private or public schools. Thus our data on the schools attended by the white managers tends to support Bendix and Lipset's position.

With regard to Black managers, 40 percent of the middle and lower level managers attended predominantly Black colleges and 21 percent attended predominantly white "select" public or private schools or Ivy League schools.

Since the Black managers who have graduated from "select" public or private schools have all been with their firms less than four years, it remains to be seen if their educational background will have the same "payoff" effect it seems to have for the white managers.

In sum: the average level of education achieved by the Black managers is somewhat higher than that of the white managers.

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[14] R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, Class, Status, and Power (Glencoe, 1953), p. 474.

The Black and white managers received their degrees in similar subject areas. The Black managers attended Black colleges more frequently than any other type of college, while the white managers attended "select" public universities or colleges more than any other type of school.

Family Background

The major emphasis in this section will be on the family backgrounds of the managers. More specifically, the managers' mothers and fathers' educational levels and the best jobs the managers' fathers had when the managers were teenagers will be discussed.

A. Mothers' and fathers' educational levels

Table 3 shows the educational levels of the managers' mothers and fathers.

From the data on mothers' and fathers' educational level, several interesting observations can be made. One is that the Black managers' mothers more often than their fathers received high school diplomas and college degrees. This is primarily due to the belief at that time that teaching was a female occupation especially in elementary school. Since most schools were segregated, Black women had more opportunities at one of the main occupations open to Black college graduates. In short, segregated schools increased Black female occupational chances; therefore, there was more emphasis placed on sending Black females to college than Black males.

TABLE 3

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Educational Level	Mothers Black Managers'* (N=115)	Mothers White Managers' (N=155)	Fathers Black Managers' (N=113)	Fathers White Managers' (N=152)
Grade School	14 %	28 %	35 %	40 %
9th Grade	4	1	3	2
10th Grade	5	6	4	6
11th Grade	8	2	5	1
12th Grade	43	35	29	18
1 Year of College	1	3	0	2
2 Years of College	7	9	4	7
3 Years of College	0	3	4	4
4 Years or More of College	19	13	15	21
Total	101**	100	99	101

*The cases (N) do not equal the number of managers participating in the study because of missing data.

**The total percents are over or under 100 because of rounding errors.

The white managers' mothers also received high school diplomas more often than their fathers; however, more of the white managers' fathers received college degrees than their mothers.

In comparing all of the parents, the white managers' fathers completed four years of college most often. They were followed by the Black managers' mothers, the white managers' mothers, and then the Black managers' fathers.

Overall the Black managers' mothers were the most educated: their mean educational level was twelve years and one month. This compares with eleven years and six months for the white managers' fathers, eleven years and five months for the white managers' mothers, and eleven years and two months for the Black managers' fathers.

As one would expect, for both the Black and white managers, there is a strong relationship between the educational level of the mothers and fathers and the educational level of the managers. For example, 85 percent of the Black mothers and 65 percent of the white mothers who had at least bachelors degrees had sons or daughters who had at least bachelors degrees. The case is quite similar for the fathers--81 percent of the Black fathers and 65 percent of the white fathers who had at least bachelors degrees also had sons or daughters with at least bachelors degrees. Notice that there is a stronger relationship between the educational achievement of the Black managers and their college-degreed parents than there is between the white managers and their college-degreed parents. This is probably the result of those few Black parents who were able to obtain a college education under oppressive conditions constantly prodding their children to be someone and make something of themselves. However, approximately 55 percent of the Black managers and 43 percent of the white managers whose mothers and fathers had less than twelve years of schooling received college degrees--again reflecting the very strong desire among working class families to send their children to college.

These findings are quite similar to those found by Warner and Abeggelen in their study on business leaders in America. (It should be remembered that approximately 17 percent of our sample were females and Warner and Abeggelen's sample consisted of only males.)

> Although the education of the father is important in determining the education of the sons, it is far from the deciding factor. The proportions of college-educated sons decrease as the educational background of the father declines, but the fact that two thirds of the sons of men with less than high school would go to college shows that other factors are motivating these men.[15]

That this drive for education extends even to the most deprived strata is suggested by Leonard Goodwin. A general conclusion of his was that both welfare mothers and their sons show at least as strong a concern as the white middle class about getting all possible education and training.[16]

B. The managers' fathers' best occupations

Although there were no great differences between the educational levels of the Black and white managers' fathers, there were great differences in the occupations of the fathers. Two-thirds of the Black managers' fathers held such jobs as unskilled laborers, skilled laborers and dining room porters, while two-thirds of the white managers' fathers were professionals, managers, or business owners. The similarities in educational achievement and the lack of similarities in occupational achievement can be attributed to the lack of opportunities afforded Black people in the past.

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[15] Warner and Abeggelen (1963), p. 41.

[16] Leonard Goodwin, Do the Poor Want to Work? (Washington, D. C., 1972).

When the educational levels of the Black managers' fathers and the best jobs they held were correlated, it was found that the educated parents of the Black managers generally found employment in the professional areas serving the Black community. They realized that their best chances of employment were in serving the Black community and not in white corporations, primarily because of racial discrimination.

Table 4 shows the best occupations of the fathers when the managers were teenagers.

The fact that 62 percent of all the white managers' fathers (80 percent of the upper level white managers' fathers) were middle or upper class is not surprising, and it is a sign that the white manager sample is at least in social background typical of the universe of white managers. A number of larger studies have found that between 60-70 percent of the business elite come from middle and upper class family backgrounds. Many sociological studies have suggested that the reason for this phenomenon is that children born to middle and upper class families have more advantages than those born to lower class families because the

TABLE 4

BEST OCCUPATION OF FATHERS WHEN MANAGERS WERE TEENAGERS

Occupations	Black Managers' Fathers* (N=115)	White Managers' Fathers** (N=154)
Unskilled Laborer	20 %	8 %
Skilled Laborer	21	14
Small Business Owner	10	10
Medium Business Owner	1	4
Large Business Owner	0	1
Low Level Supervisor/Manager	5	12
Middle Level Supervisor/Manager	3	9
Upper Level Supervisor/Manager	0	6
Lawyer or Doctor	2	4
Clergyman	3	0
School Principal or Professor	2	2
School Teacher or Counselor	1	1
Other Professional: Engineers, Real Estate Broker, Accountant, Publisher/Editor, Statistician	5	11
Governmental Service	11	5
Farmer of Own Large Farm	0	3
Farmer of Own Small Farm	6	5
Dining Room Waiter or Porter for the Railroad	8	0
Didn't Have a Father	3	5
Doesn't Know	4	1
Other	2	1
Total***	107	102

*There was missing data in one case.

**There were missing data in two cases.

***The total percents are over 100 because of rounding errors.

corporate system is still considerably status bound.[17]

That two-thirds of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds is a measure of an impressive amount of intergenerational mobility. The primary reason for this is that discrimination against Blacks has decreased, to an extent, that over the past two decades more Blacks have had an opportunity to obtain better educations and better jobs than their parents.

Finally, there is a shift downward in social origins: the Black managers who are entering the business world in recent years are coming more from working class backgrounds than middle class backgrounds. Generally, the Black managers who have the most years of corporate experience come from the Black middle class, approximately 66 percent, while those with fewer years of service generally come from lower class backgrounds, approximately 70 percent. This is not the case with the white managers. Regardless of length of service approximately 33 percent come from working class backgrounds.

In sum: the educational levels of the Black and white managers' parents are not significantly different; however, the Black managers' mothers had the highest mean educational level followed by the white managers' fathers, white managers' mothers, and Black managers' fathers. If one considers the fathers' occupations as indications of class origins, it can be said that two in three of the white managers come from middle and upper class backgrounds, while in sharp contrast, two in three of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds.

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[17] F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders* (New York, 1932); William Miller, ed., *Men in Business* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 286-337; W. L. Warner and J. C. Abeggelen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry* (Minneapolis, 1955); Mabel Newcomer, *The Big Business Executive* (New York, 1955); Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry* (New York, 1956), pp. 198-253); C. Wright Mills, *Power, Politics and People* (New York, 1963), pp. 110-139.

These last two sections on educational achievement of the participating managers and their family backgrounds clearly show that although a large majority of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds, they have pursued education more vigorously than the more privileged white managers, the majority of whom generally come from middle class backgrounds.

The Managers' Spouses' Backgrounds

This section will discuss the marital status of the managers, whether their spouses work, the educational level their spouses attained, and the spouses' fathers' occupations. The first subject to be discussed is the managers' marital status.

Although there were no questions which dealt with whether a certain marital status was helpful or harmful for promotions, several female and male managers, both Black and white, indicated that there are disadvantages to being single, separated, or divorced. For example, a white female from Ace Public Utility, who is divorced, said that her promotion was held up for six months because her supervisor and his superior believed that divorce was a sign of "immaturity, instability, and emotionalism." With regard to the males, an upper level white manager from Triple A Bank indicated that single or divorced males are handicapped because the male needs a wife to help entertain customers, bosses, peers and subordinates, especially at the middle and upper levels of management where social intercourse becomes extremely important.[4] He also believes that this applies more to middle and upper level managers in banks and public-related industries than to managers in some types of manufacturing businesses. However, being single and an older woman may be helpful for females seeking business careers primarily because the male dominated bureaucracy believes that only single, older women are more likely to stay with the firms than married women whose family responsibilities are central. It is striking that all the white females who were interviewed in upper and middle management positions were never married. The Black female in the middle level of management is divorced, but she believes being divorced has not hindered her career because of her unique educational background in chemistry and library services which are in great demand.

That attitudes about marriage can be an asset to one's promotional opportunities is evident in responses to the question: Is a helpful spouse a harmful, helpful, or irrelevant factor for promotions to supervisor and beyond? More than 50 percent of the managers believe ideally in their opinions that a helpful spouse should be an important factor in considering a person for a managerial position. More than 50 percent also believe this is the case in their firms and in business in general. The male managers of both races feel this more so than the female managers.[18]

A. Do the managers' spouses work?

More than twice the number of Black managers' spouses work than the white managers' spouses, 66 percent and 28 percent, respectively.

The higher up the managers are on the occupational ladder, the less likely it will be that their spouses work. All of the Black and white female managers' spouses work. One possible explanation which was mentioned by some of the Black managers for such a large difference between the percentage of Black and white male managers' spouses who work is that most of the Black managers are lower level managers who receive low pay; therefore, their spouses work to supplement the family income.

It is quite possible that, if the Black managers are allowed to move up the occupational ladder, the male managers' spouses will cease to work in order to assist her husband in performing the social functions which become necessary and because the wife may not have to continue to supplement the family income. However, the value of women as independent professionals and workers is increasing as a result of the woman's movement and the new opportunities for women; therefore, the change may not occur.

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[18] See Appendix B, p. 534, for the frequency distribution of the marital status of the managers.

B. Spouses' educational levels

In this study, the data show that the higher the educational level of the managers, the higher the educational level of the spouse. One-third of the Black and white managers who have bachelors degrees or better are married to spouses with bachelors degrees.[19] In addition, only two of the Black managers and two of the white managers who do not have college degrees have spouses with college degrees.

C. Spouses' fathers' best occupation

As is the case with the managers' fathers, the white spouses' fathers are more likely to be business managers, business owners, or professionals than the Black spouses' fathers who are more likely to be unskilled laborers, skilled laborers, or government workers. There was a large percentage, 21 percent, of the Black managers who did not know what their spouses' fathers did for employment.[20]

In correlating the spouses' fathers' occupations with the managers' fathers' occupations, indications are that, in general, the Black male managers married more often below their class background than within it; however, the Black female managers married more often within their class background than outside it. This same pattern was also evident with the white males and females;

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[19] See Appendix B, p. 535, for the frequency distribution of the educational levels of the managers' spouses.

[20] See Appendix B, pp. 535-536, for the frequency distribution of the best occupations achieved by spouses' fathers.

however, whites from the upper class and, to a lesser extent, those from the lower class are more likely to marry within their social-economic group than those in the middle class.

In sum: the data suggest that being married is an asset for males, but being single is an asset for females, especially older females. The higher up the managerial ladder the managers are, the less likely it is that their spouses are working. More of the Black managers' spouses work than the white managers' spouses. The Black and white managers' spouses have similar educational achievement; however, the Black managers' spouses generally come from working class backgrounds, while the white managers' spouses generally come from middle and upper class backgrounds.

Religious, Political, and Organizational Affiliations of the Managers and Their Social Contact with Members of the Opposite Race

The primary purpose of this section is to analyze the managers' religious affiliations and frequency of church attendance, political philosophy and political affiliations, organizational affiliations, and social contact with members of the opposite race.

A. Religious preference and frequency of attendance at church

The modal preference of the Black managers are Baptists--29 percent. An almost identical percent, 28 percent, of the Black managers have no religious preference. The modal category, 32 percent, for the white managers are the high status Protestant religions, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist. This was closely followed by those white managers who were Catholic. As was the case with the Black managers, the next highest percentage, 17 percent, of the white managers have no religious preference. The religious preferences of the managers are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES

Religion	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Baptist	29 %	1 %
None	28	17
Methodist	11	7
Catholic	9	29
Episcopalian	5	9
Lutheran	4	5
Other Protestant Denominations	4	3
Church of Christ	4	6
Presbyterian	2	16
Protestant No Specific Denomination	2	8
Jewish	1	1
Other Denominations-Not Protestant	1	1
Mormon	0	3
Total	100	100

The main story here is the large Catholic minority among whites and the sizeable secular minority among both Blacks and whites. Only 49 percent of the white managers are affiliated with the Protestant faith. Previous studies such as Bowman's[21] noted that approximately 70 percent of the white managers in business are Protestant.

The high percentage of Catholic managers is a clear testimony that religious discrimination against Catholics in the business community, at least in the West, has decreased substantially since Mabel Newcomer pointed out the large discrepancies between the Catholic population in the U. S. and their representation in the executive ranks. She noted that although Catholics made up 33 percent of the U. S. population, they made up only 9 percent of the executives in business.[22]

The proposition that discrimination against Catholics in the business community has decreased is supported by the responses in this study. A comparison with Bowman's provides a further clue to the trend. Bowman found in her study that approximately 26 percent of the managers believed that being Catholic was a harmful factor for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in business in general and approximately 39 percent believed being Protestant was helpful for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond.[23] In this study, only 5 percent of the white managers and 9 percent of the Black managers believe being Catholic is harmful for promotion in business in general; however, 22 percent of the white managers and 33 percent of the Black managers believe being Protestant is helpful for promotion in business in general. These figures, while indicating that discrimination against Catholics has decreased, clearly point out that there is still a substantial amount of work to be done to eliminate discrimination against Catholics in the business community.

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[21] Bowman (1964), p. 8.

[22] Mabel Newcomer, *The Big Business Executive* (New York, 1955), pp. 46-48.

[23] Bowman (1962), pp. 99-99B.

The fact that only 1 percent of the managers in this study are Jewish supports the position that Jews are still finding it extremely difficult to pursue careers in Protestant dominated firms. Thirty percent of the Black managers and 23 percent of the white managers in this study believe being Jewish is a harmful factor for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in business in general and 20 percent of the Black managers and 7 percent of the white managers believe this is also the case in their firms.

Finally, a high percentage of white managers are Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Methodists, compared to their small representation in the U. S. population. In this study it became apparent that the whites who succeed to the higher managerial levels belong to one of these high status Protestant denominations. For example, 42 percent of the upper level white managers, 29 percent of the middle level white managers, and 6 percent of the lower level white managers are members of these denominations. This is not true for Blacks. Newcomer also noted these trends in her study.[24] Thus it seems that the business community is not only selective in choosing individuals who are affiliated with the Protestant religion, but more specifically those individuals who belong to specific high status denominations of the Protestant faith.

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[24] Newcomer, pp. 46-48.

The majority of the managers in our study attend religious services infrequently, if at all. More than half of both the Black and white managers never attend church or only attend church a few times a year. This is more true among the Protestant managers than among the Catholic managers. The lack of attendance at religious services reflects a more general trend away from the church. Table 6 shows the frequency distribution with regard to attendance at religious services.

TABLE 6

ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Frequency of Attendance	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
More Than Once A Week	3 %	5 %
Once A Week	12	27
Once Or Twice A Month	16	11
A Few Times A Year	36	32
Never	32	25
Total	100	100

An ironic comment on the effect of Christianity on prejudice is the low degree of prejudice among the most secular whites: 86 percent of the white managers who did not express any negative racial attitudes about Blacks in the study never attend church or attend only a few times a year.[25] In addition, 60 percent of those white managers who expressed negative attitudes about Blacks on one to three questions attend church only a few times a year or never. However, those white managers who attend church more than twice a week, once a week, or once or twice a month tend to hold more racist attitudes than those who attend church very infrequently or never. For example, 35 percent of the white managers who attend church at least twice a month or more expressed negative attitudes about Blacks on three or less of the questions.

Support for the position that those who attend church frequently have not been affected greatly, if at all, by the Christian doctrine of equality was found by Angus Campbell:

> If one thinks of . . . . the churches as major forces of acculturation in American society one must conclude that their contribution to racial patterns in this country has been to preserve the status quo . . . the role of the churches has been especially remarkable. Despite their historic dedication to the inculcation of moral values, their influence on the racial attitudes of their constituents appears to have been very limited.[26]

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[25] Chapter VI covers racist attitudes. These attitudes include such statements as Blacks are lazy, dumb, slow, irresponsible, etc.

[26] Angus Campbell, White Attitudes Toward Black People (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1971), p. 68. His study interviewed 2,945 whites and 2,814 Blacks.

It should be noted that in this study there were no large differences among the various Christian denominations with regard to racial attitudes. This finding also was supported by Campbell:

> Slightly over half of the white residents of these northern cities identify themselves as Catholic, something over a quarter are Protestant, one in eight is Jewish, and four percent say they have no religion. . . . the differences between Catholics and Protestants in their response to racial questions are very minor.[27]

Because of the few Jews in this study, it was impossible to make a comparison between the racial attitudes of the Jews and the Christians. However, Campbell did make a comparison:

> The pattern of Jewish attitudes presents a striking contrast to that of Catholics and Protestants: Jews are consistently more positive in their orientation toward these racial issues.[28]

In sum: although two-thirds of the Black managers and almost half of the white managers are Protestants, they are from various denominations. There was also a large number of Black and white managers who have no religious preference. The majority of the managers, Black and white, do not attend religious services frequently. And finally, the most racist white managers are generally those who attend church most frequently.

B. Political philosophy and political affiliations

When the managers were asked what they considered their political philosophy to be, the largest percent of the Black managers consider themselves liberals and the largest percent of the white managers consider themselves moderates. Only a small percent of the Black managers consider themselves conservatives; there were a few white managers who consider themselves "right-wingers" and a significant number who consider themselves conservatives. Table 7 shows the political philosophies of the managers.

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[27] Ibid., p. 47.

[28] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

TABLE 7

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

Political Philosophy	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Radical	8 %	1 %
Liberal	43	27
Moderate	33	41
Conservative	6	28
Right Winger	0	3
Other	10	1
Total	100	100

Significant variations occur when age is used as the control variable. The data show that the younger white managers are more likely to consider themselves liberals and the older white managers are more likely to consider themselves conservatives. With regard to the Black managers, it was found that the younger Black managers are more likely to consider themselves liberals and the older Black managers are more likely to consider themselves moderates.

An interesting contradiction among the Black managers occurs when sex is used as the control variable. Aproximately two-thirds of the Black females, compared to one-fourth of the Black males, consider themselves moderates; however, it will be seen throughout the study that the Black females' views regarding the opportunities that exist for Blacks in their firms and the corporate world in general are consistently more critical than the Black males. In addition, Black females have assimilated less into white society than Black males. This is interesting because it would be expected that a moderate or a conservative would be less critical on racial issues and would have assimilated more into white society than a radical or a liberal.

There was not much difference between the political philosophies of the white males and those of the white females, with the exception that none of the females considered themselves "right-wingers."

The pattern of political affiliation is no surprise: it is a well-known fact that white businessmen are primarily Republicans and that Blacks are primarily Democrats. Table 8 shows the distribution of the managers' political affiliations.

Analysis of the managers' political philosophy and affiliation clearly indicates that the older, more educated, higher level, white managers are more likely to be moderate or conservative Republicans than liberal Democrats. The older, middle level Black managers are more likely to consider themselves moderate Democrats rather than liberal Democrats or Independents. Thus, corporations might create a general convergence toward a moderately conservative political stance.

TABLE 8

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

Political Affiliations	Black Managers (N=114)*	White Managers (N=154)**
Democrat	72 %	33 %
Republican	4	61
Independent	22	5
Other	2	1
Total	100	100

*There were missing data in two cases.

**There were missing data in two cases.

C. Organizational Affiliations

This section discusses the organizational affiliations of the managers and whether or not these organizations have racially mixed memberships.

One of the helpful factors for "making it" in the business world is to have community and civic interests and to belong to the "right" clubs. In Bowman's study of 2,000 managers, more than 71 percent of them believed that community and cultural interests should ideally be helpful to an individual's promotional opportunities to supervisory positions and beyond. Fifty-one percent believed these factors were in fact helpful in their firms and 64 percent believed they were helpful in business in general. In addition, 63 percent of the managers in her study believed ideally that belonging to prominent social clubs should be irrelevant to an individual's promotional opportunities and 51 percent believed this was the case in their firms; however, only 23 percent of the managers believed this was in fact the case in business in general.[29]

In this study, 32 percent of the Black managers and 26 percent of the white managers do not belong to any organizations. The vast majority of the managers who do not belong to any organizations come from lower management. As would be expected, the higher the position held on the managerial ladder, the more likely the manager is to belong to organizations. Table 9 lists the organizations the Black and white managers belong to and whether the memberships of the organizations are all-Black, all-white, or racially mixed.

Although in general large differences do not occur between the racially mixed and racially unmixed organizations to which the Black and white managers belong, differences do occur when important variables are controlled. The younger, lower level Black managers, Black females more so than Black males, are more likely to belong to all-Black organizations than the older, middle level Black males. There are several reasons for this difference. Younger Black managers have grown up in a time when increasing emphasis was being placed on Black pride; therefore, they are more likely to belong to organizations which exclude whites. In addition, the younger Black managers are almost exclusively at the

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[29] Bowman (1964), pp. 18, 22.

TABLE 9

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Organizational Affiliations	Black Managers		White Managers	
	Whites Belong (N=116)	Blacks Only (N=116)	Blacks Belong (N=156)	Whites Only (N=156)
Civil Rights	34 %	0 %	9 %	0 %
Professional	20	3	30	3
Business or Civic	19	4	30	9
Fraternal	11	15	3	19
Charitable	9	5	14	1
Church-Oriented	7	3	13	13
Social	7	8	4	10
Political	5	2	7	0
Neighborhood	4	7	10	8
Veterans	2	0	2	1
Organizations of the Same Race (Generally social and company organizations)	0	9	0	0
Country Club	0	0	1	8
Other	2	1	1	8
Belong to No Organizations	32 %		26 %	
Total*	120	57	124	80

*The percents do not equal 100 because many of the managers belonged to more than one organization.

lower rung of the managerial ladder; therefore, they are not required to get involved in many social and non-social organizations which might have white members.

Because the white middle and upper level managers are older and more conservative and have less interaction with Blacks at work (there are only a few Blacks above the lower level of management) and because their levels of management require them to belong to more organizations than lower level managers, one would expect them to belong to more all-white organizations than racially mixed organizations. The data shows that this is the case.

Many of these upper level managers said they did not know whether or not Blacks were purposely excluded from their all-white organizations, but it would probably be safe to say that even if they are not purposely excluded, they probably are not encouraged to join. Only 13 percent of the white upper level managers belong only to social organizations which have Black members and 27 percent do not belong to any social organizations.

A valid question to ask the senior managers (or any managers) who belong to organizations which exclude Blacks directly or indirectly is: How can they be totally and sincerely committed to equality of opportunity for Blacks when they belong to racist organizations?

D. The managers' social contact with members of the opposite race outside of work

Although the percentages of Black and white managers who belong to racially mixed and/or unmixed organizations are quite similar, the Black managers have a great deal more contact with whites at social functions not related to work than the white managers have with Blacks at social functions not related to work. The Black managers generally do not have social contacts with whites from their jobs but with white friends outside of work. Ferman also found in his study of twenty firms that there was very little inter-personal relationships between Black and white workers at social functions outside of work.[30] Table 10 shows the frequency of contact between the Black and white managers with members of the opposite race at social functions not related to work.

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE RACE NOT RELATED TO WORK

Frequency of Contact	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Very Frequent	24 %	6 %
Fairly Frequent	31	17
Not Very Frequent	32	47
Never	13	30
Total	100	100

Blacks of all ages have about the same frequency of contact with whites outside of work; however, the older white managers are the least likely group of white managers to have contact with Blacks outside of work.

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[30] Ferman, p. 108.

Even though 71 percent of the white managers have very or fairly frequent contact with Blacks on the-job, only 23 percent of them have fairly or very frequent contact with Blacks at social functions not related to work. Of course the thirty upper level white managers have little contact with Blacks on the job because there are no Blacks at their level; however, 27 percent have contact with Blacks at social functions not related to work, primarily in civic functions and parties related to organizations they consider social in nature.

This lack of contact on the part of most of the white managers with Blacks at social functions outside of work indicates that Blacks are not full members of the work group, i.e., they are not allowed to fully participate in activities outside of work with their white subordinates, peers, and superiors which make a work situation more fulfilling and which are important to one's promotional opportunities and successes.

St. Clair Drake addressed himself to this point. He wrote:

> The life styles of the Negro upper class are similar to those of the white upper middle class, but it is only in rare instances that Negroes have been incorporated into the clique and associational life of this group or have intermarried into it. (Their participation in activities of the white upper class occurs more often than with those whites who have similar life styles because of Negro upper-class participation as members of various civic boards and interracial associations to which wealthy white people contribute.) Living "well" with highly developed skills, having enough money to travel, Negroes at this social level do not experience

> victimization in the same fashion as do the members of the lower class. Their victimization flows primarily from the fact that the social system keeps them "half in and half out," preventing the free and easy contact with their occupational peers which they need; and it often keeps them from making the kind of significant intellectual and social contributions to the national welfare that they might make if they were white.[31]

When the Black managers were asked what incidental pressures they must put up with that whites do not have to put up with, a number of them indicated a major one was their exclusion from socially interacting with whites both on- and off-the-job. The managers' responses to some of the other questions were also directly related to their exclusion from such social interaction. The general theme of these statements was as follows: Blacks face social isolation in a white corporation; they are not invited to have lunch with co-workers, they are not invited to social functions outside of work and if they are invited, no one socializes with them. A lower level Black manager in Triple A Bank said, ". . . I have been told many times by white co-workers or bosses that 'I am not a racist but my wife is so I can't invite you home for dinner'."

The type and frequency of the contact between the managers with members of the opposite race at social functions not related to work is shown in Table 11.

Overall the Black females who are lower level managers, non-college educated, and 30 years of age or younger have less interaction with whites than the Black males who are middle level managers, college-educated and over 30. This lack of interracial contact among the younger, less-educated Black females is due

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[31] St. [illegible] [illegible] "The Ghettoization of Negro Life," Daedalus, Fall, 1965, p. 119.

TABLE 11

TYPE AND FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL CONTACT WITH THE OPPOSITE RACE NOT RELATED TO WORK

Type and Frequency of Contact	Black Managers (N=[illegible]6)	White Managers (N=156)
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Only at Civic Functions	8 %	27 %
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Mostly at Parties	24	28
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: A Few Friends	14	8
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Neighbors	3	1
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Church Activities	0	5
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Civic Functions	12	11
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Social Functions such as Parties, Dinners, Lodges, etc.	33	9
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Personal Friends	41	16
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Neighbors	9	1
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Educational Functions such as Attending Classes, Teaching	0	2
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Church Activities	2	9
Total*	146	117

*The total percentages are more than 100 because many managers have contact in more than one area.

partly to their managerial level which does not require a great deal of social and community involvement, to their age group which is more identified with Black separatist views, and to their educational opportunities which did not provide them with possible opportunities for forming friendships with whites in college. Equally important perhaps is the fact that Black women have been abused and used by this white male dominated society; therefore, part of the reason they have less interaction with whites can be attributed to their fear of being abused and used by white males.

White females have less interaction with Blacks than white males. In general, the older white males who are in middle and upper management, but not necessarily college educated, have more contact with Blacks than lower level white managers. Of course part of this difference between the frequency of contact of the white managers from the various managerial levels with Blacks can be attributed to the civic and community involvement of the white middle and upper level managers and part of it can be attributed to the fact that a large number of white females make up the lower managerial positions in this study.

The Racial Make-Up of the Managers' Neighborhoods

When the white managers were asked whether Blacks live in their neighborhoods, approximately the same percentage of white females and white males live in neighborhoods with Black neighbors. Only 4 percent Black females live in an all-white neighborhood, compared with 11 percent of the Black males.

Although almost half of the white managers have Blacks living in their neighborhoods, almost three-quarters of them live in areas where Blacks make up only 5 percent or less. Only one white manager lives in a neighborhood where Blacks make up 50 percent or more of the population.

One-fifth of the Black managers live in neighborhoods where Blacks make up only 10 percent or less. Many of these Blacks live in these areas because of the proximity of their neighborhoods to their jobs. Most of the white managers have moved out to lily-white suburbs many miles away from their jobs and the urban centers where large numbers of minorities live. Almost half of the Black managers live in areas where Blacks make up at least half of the population in their neighborhood.

Would the Managers Marry Someone of a Different Race?

The great lack of interaction with Blacks on the part of the white managers, especially in the social area, stems partially from the fact that substantial numbers of white managers (72 percent), because of their racial attitudes and stereotypes, would not consider a Black as a possible marriage partner.

Up until the late 1960's there was very little opposition to interracial marriages in the Black community; however, in the past several years many Blacks, especially among the young and women, have voiced strong opposition to interracial marriages generally on the grounds that any Black who marries a white is psychologically oppressed and brainwashed by white America. In this study, 74 percent of the Black females, compared to only 27 percent of the Black males, could hardly imagine themselves marrying a white. (The white males' and females' views about interracial marriages are quite similar.) In addition, 50 percent more of the Black managers 30 or younger than those over 30 could hardly imagine themselves marrying a white. As has been noted throughout this chapter, the younger Black managers are more involved in the new emphasis put on Black pride than the older Black managers.

The older white managers are more likely to say that they could hardly imagine themselves marrying a Black person than the younger white managers. An issue of *Jet* reported that 58 percent of the Black population and only 29 percent of the white population approve of interracial marriages and 21 percent of the Blacks and 60 percent of the whites disapprove.[32] These figures are quite similar to those reported in this study.

There seems to be a relationship between the amount of contact the white managers have with Blacks and their views about marrying Blacks. For example, 46 percent of the white managers who have a great deal of contact with Blacks, compared to 76 percent who have no contact with Blacks at all, could hardly imagine themselves marrying a Black. In addition, the less contact the white managers have with Blacks, the more likely they are to strongly agree rather than just agree, i.e., those with less contact with Blacks generally feel more strongly about not marrying Blacks than those who have more frequent contact with Blacks.

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[32] *Jet*, December 7, 1972, p. 30. Poll was taken by Gallup-Poll.

Similarly the Black managers who have the most frequent contact with whites are more likely to believe they could marry a white than those with less frequent contact. This is expected considering those Blacks with the most contact are Black males who are middle level managers over 30 years of age and have more integrationist attitudes than the younger, lower level Black managers.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, a profile of the typical Black manager and the typical white manager who participated in this study will be presented.

The typical Black manager is a 32-year-old male, college-educated, liberal Democrat, Baptist who comes from a working class background and whose mother is probably more educated than his father. In addition, the manager is married to a person with educational achievement similar to his own, who comes from a working class background, and who works. The manager lives in an integrated neighborhood, has fairly frequent social contact with whites, and belongs to integrated religious, social, civic, professional, and business organizations.

The typical white manager is a 42-year-old male, college-educated, moderate Republican, Protestant who comes from at least a middle class background and whose father is generally more educated than his mother. In addition, the manager is married to a person with similar educational achievement, who comes from a middle class family background, and who does not work. The manager lives in an all-white neighborhood, has little social contact with Blacks, and belongs to segregated social organizations, but integrated civic, professional, political, religious, and business organizations.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPANIES' AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS

Introduction

To analyze the Affirmative Action Programs of the companies participating in this study, this chapter will both describe programs and offer possible explanations for the large variations in them.

The Companies' Affirmative Action Programs

The firms which participated in this study were required by law (Revised Executive Order 11246), in January 1970, to submit a written Affirmative Action Compliance Program; however, most of the firms indicated that they had written AAPs before 1970 and all of the firms stated that they had taken steps to practice equal employment opportunities before they wrote their programs.[1] Revised Executive Order 11246 states in part:

> An affirmative action program is a set of specific and result-oriented procedures to which a contractor commits himself to apply every good faith effort. The objective of those procedures plus such efforts is equal employment opportunity. Procedures without effort to make them work are meaningless; and effort, undirected by specific and meaningful procedures, is inadequate. An acceptable affirmative action program must include an analysis of areas within which the contractor is deficient in the

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[1] All of the firms are federal contractors, thus come under the jurisdiction of Executive Orders.

> utilization of minority groups and, further, goals and timetables to which the contractor's good faith efforts must be directed to correct the deficiencies and, thus to increase materially the utilization of minorities at all levels and in all segments of his work force where deficiencies exist.[2]

The companies also were members of the now defunct Plans for Progress and are currently members of its replacement, the National Alliance of Businesses. Plans for Progress, initiated by the late President John F. Kennedy, was a voluntary effort on the part of some business leaders to go beyond the letter of the equal opportunity laws by aggressively pursuing the concept of equal employment opportunities. Every company, except the two banks, joined Plans for Progress in 1962. The banks, Tripe A Bank and Triple C Bank, joined the organization in 1964 and 1965, respectively. The National Alliance of Businesses is a joint effort by the federal government and the business community to provide employment and on-the-job training for members of minority groups previously considered unemployable.

Table 1 lists the dates the firms first developed written Affirmative Action Programs.

The companies gave various reasons for having written Affirmative Action Programs before they were required by law. For example, the AAP Co-ordinator in Triple C Bank said that they wrote an AAP as early as 1964 because of an agreement with the California Fair Employment Practices Commission (CFEPC). Triple

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[2] Ruth G. Shaeffer, Non-discrimination in Employment: Changing Perspectives (Washington, D. C., 1971), pp. 90-91.

A Bank indicated that their written AAP was the result of pressure applied on the company by civil rights organizations; Aunts and

TABLE 1

DATES COMPANIES FIRST DEVELOPED WRITTEN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS

Company	Date
Triple C Bank	1964
Cousins Manufacturing	1967
Aunts Manufacturing	1967
Triple A Bank	1968
Ajax Manufacturing	1969
Century Manufacturing	1969
Deuce Public Utility	1969
Ace Public Utility	1970

Cousins Manufacturing Companies indicated that their programs developed because their companies have always been "progressive" in the area of human rights. Three companies, Ajax and Century Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility, stated that their programs were a result of a new awareness on the part of management that there was a real need to provide equal opportunities for all. It should be noted that the writer has never seen a copy of Deuce Public Utility's Affirmative Action Program. The firm's representative indicated that the senior manager in charge of the AAP believes the information is privileged and not for outside consumption.

Ace Public Utility was the only company which said that it had not developed a written Affirmative Action Program before the governmental order. However, it did indicate that it took concrete steps toward improving minority employment as early as 1962. Although last in formulating a written policy, Ace Public Utility has the most detailed, elaborate Affirmative Action Program. Many features of their program, completed in 1970, anticipated government orders issued in 1971 and 1972. For example, their Affirmative Action Program included provisions for eliminating job restrictions based on sex. They also included in their Affirmative Action Program goals and timetables not only for ethnic minorities, but also women.

As will be seen, even though these firms have made various types of voluntary commitments to equal employment opportunities and even though they have been required by governmental laws to provide equal employment opportunities, the degree of commitment to affirmative action is minimal to say the least.

A. Employment goals

Although all of the firms do have written AAPs, they vary widely from the comprehensive plan of Ace Public Utility with specific goals and timetables to the short statement of Triple C Bank which simply reiterates its stance as an equal opportunity employer.

Ace Public Utility has established the goal of achieving population parity[3] in every district, department, and division no later than 1980. In addition, it will attempt to reach employee parity[4] at all levels from the lowest clerk to the Board of Directors by 1990. Not only are there goals and timetables for the entire company, but also for all the major subdivisions in the company.

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[3] Reaching population parity in a corporation means to

Of the remaining firms, excluding Triple C Bank which has no specific goals and timetables, and Deuce Public Utility, their main goal is to increase the numbers of Black employees. Little, if any, emphasis is placed on increasing the numbers of Black managers at all levels of management and in all areas of management and timetables have not been set.[5]

Put another way, these companies are primarily concerned with reaching ethnic minority employment representation directly related to their population representation in the surrounding communities. This goal is not far reaching, especially since no specific dates have been set to achieve them.

A primary reason these remaining firms do not have goals and timetables is that they doubt their usefulness and effectiveness.

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achieve an employee group whose ethnic composition is a more or less direct relationship to the racial mixture of the community in which the corporation's operations are located.

[4] Employee parity is defined as a more or less direct relationship between the ethnic and sex composition of the work force and the ethnic and sex composition of all major job categories and all managerial levels.

[5] Triple A Bank and Ajax Manufacturing have recently (1972) complied with Executive Order 11246 by establishing goals and timetables on a year-by-year basis to attempt to increase the number of Blacks in their managerial work force, but they are only concerned with the total number of Black managers and not with the number of Blacks at each managerial level.

This reason, as the federal government argued in Revised Order 11246, is not valid. Another primary reason is that the enforcement of the law, by the federal government, has been slow and of limited effectiveness, to say the least.

Governmental pressures to meet goals and timetables have proven to be helpful in increasing the effectiveness of the Affirmative Action Programs in Ace Public Utility. One senior white manager in Ace Public Utility said many managers rationalized their lack of progress by saying they could not find qualified Blacks and/or could not afford them; but, after they were given goals and timetables as part of their managerial responsibilities and were going to be held accountable for meeting these goals, many of those who said they could not find any Black managers suddenly found them.

Setting goals and timetables does create certain problems which firms must realistically face. For example, it came out in several seminars the writer conducted for some of the senior managers in Ace Public Utility that the economic slowdown and the resultant discovery that the company was overstaffed at the middle and upper management positions created two serious problems: (1) The company has had to revise downward their goals and timetables and, as a result, some of the Black managers who expected to be promoted have not been promoted and they attribute it only to racial discrimination rather than to the economic slowdown, overstaffing or a combination of these factors. (2) Many of the white managers attribute their lack of promotional opportunities to their company's strong emphasis on affirmative action rather than to the economic slowdown and/or overstaffing. These senior managers indicated that there is less discontent among the Black managers than the white managers because many of them have just recently received promotions, while many of the white managers have not. They also indicated that there is more discontent among the white managers than the Black managers because, in general, the white males are apprehensive about and feel threatened by the emphasis being placed on minorities and women. Many of them consider their company's Affirmative Action Program to be discriminatory toward white males. As many students of job discrimination have observed, a recession heightens conflict between minority and majority groups over jobs. Only in a brisk labor market can occupational integration go forward rapidly and smoothly.[6]

Although some Black managers have become discontented with company efforts in the area of equal employment opportunity, the establishment of goals and timetables has generally had a very positive effect on the Black managers' views of the opportunities available in their firm, compared to those available in the corporate world in general. On the average, 80 percent of the Black managers in Ace Public Utility believe that Blacks do not have equal opportunities in the corporate world. This is the highest percentage of Black managers believing this to be true in the six large companies. In contrast, only 50 percent, the lowest percentage of Black managers in all of the companies believe that Blacks do not have equal opportunities in their company. In contrast, 72 percent of the Black managers in Triple C Bank and 63 percent of those in Deuce Public Utility, which have very weak AAPs, believe that Black managers do not have equal opportunities in their firms and 74 percent and 70 percent respectively, of their Black managers do not believe that Blacks have equal opportunities in the corporate world. As one can see, the Black managers in these two companies do not see much difference in the opportunities available to Black managers in their firms and in the corporate world in general. Thus a strong Affirmative Action Program does create more positive views of the companies' employment policies among the Black managers than a weak policy.

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[6] Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York, 1965), p. xxxiii.

The effect of Ace Public Utility's Affirmative Action Program on their white managers does not seem to be more negative than the effect the weak Affirmative Action Programs have on the white managers in Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility. The lack of difference among the white managers from these companies can be attributed to the timing of the interviews. The interviews in Ace Public Utility were completed before the economic slowdown and the discovery of overstaffing and a strong impact on the employment policies of the company; therefore, the uneasy feelings of the white managers did not show up in the interviews. In addition, although Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility do not have effective, strong Affirmative Action Programs, they have issued many public relations statements which have created the impression among their white employees, and thus resentment, that Blacks are getting more than equal opportunities. Finally, there has developed in the 1960's and 1970's a general belief among many white Americans that all you have to be is Black and you have got it made.

In sum: all of the firms have experienced internal and external pressures to move toward equal employment opportunities for Blacks.[7] Although all of the firms have written Affirmative Action Programs, they vary greatly. Ace Public Utility has an elaborate AAP with specific goals and timetables. Triple C Bank, in contrast, has a three and one-half page statement simply reiterating the company's long standing policy of hiring and promoting people on the basis of ability and merit, not on the basis of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin. The AAPs of the remaining firms are somewhere in between these two extremes.

B. Recruiting policies

In order to achieve Black employment goals, especially managerial, it is important to have effective recruiting methods and sensitive recruiters and interviewers.

All of the companies, except Triple A Bank, indicated that they do recruit at predominantly Black colleges. Triple A Bank recruited at two Black colleges in 1969; however, it has not recruited at any since then. There were two reasons given for this:

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[7] The next section looks into these internal and external pressures in greater detail.

(1) Senior management did not believe that it was or would be profitable because the company could not find the qualified Black managers that it needed. (2) The company has not recruited at any colleges since 1969 because of the economic slowdown.

The other companies which recruit at Black colleges began their recruiting efforts in the mid or late sixties. Two primary reasons were given by the companies for their recruiting efforts at predominantly Black colleges: (1) The civil rights movement and new federal laws and regulations forced the companies to begin looking for Black college graduates. (2) A number of Black colleges have been taking concrete steps toward improving their academic standards in order to compete with Northern, predominantly white colleges.

These seven firms have all recruited at the Atlanta Complex (Atlanta University, Clark College, Morehouse College, Spelman, and Morriss Brown) and Texas Southern. Most of them have recruited at Howard, Southern University, Tuskegee, Fisk, Hampton, and Prairie View. Ace Public Utility and Century Manufacturing indicated that they recruit at approximately twenty-seven predominantly Black colleges.

Aunts Manufacturing explained its rationale for recruiting at only a few select Black colleges in this manner: ". . . we have determined that a concentrated approach to a minimum number of quality growth colleges will produce the best long-range results."

Ace Public Utility is the only firm with specific college recruiting goals for obtaining Black, other minorities, and women representation.[8] Since it is the only company with managerial goals and timetables this would be expected.

In addition to recruiting at predominantly Black colleges, Ace Public Utility, Triple A Bank, and Aunts, Cousins and Century Manufacturing Companies use employment agencies to seek Black managers. One agency frequently used is Richard Clark and Associates which specializes in recruiting Black managers.

All of the firms have contacts and maintain relations with the National Urban League, the NAACP, and local Black groups as "recruiting" sources for Black managers.

In addition to these methods, most of the companies advertise in local and minority newspapers. And all of them on occasion, set up booths at job fairs held by various minority groups.

Table 2 indicates the manner by which the managers who participated in the study obtained jobs with their present companies.

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[8] Ajax Manufacturing has just recently set a goal for minority college recruits to include three Blacks out of every nine managers hired. Also Triple A Bank has recently told its Black managers to recruit and hire a certain number of Blacks for managerial positions. The unique feature of this program is that the Black manager hires the individual before sending him to Personnel for processing. Other companies generally leave the hiring decisions up to the Personnel Department. Because of this new method, the company reached its goals for Black managers four months before they expected to. Before the company instituted this new procedure, their goals with respect to minority representation were very seldom reached primarily because the white managers would rationalize their lack of success in recruiting Blacks to the Blacks' lack of qualifications or the Blacks' high salary demands.

TABLE 2

HOW THE MANAGERS OBTAINED JOBS WITH THEIR PRESENT COMPANIES

Method by Which Obtained Job	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Applied at Employment Office	43 %	41 %
Recruited by Company at College	18	15
Friends	13	20
Relatives	8	5
Employment Agencies	8	5
News Ad	6	9
State Employment	2	1
Other	2	4
Total	100	100

The most frequent way the managers obtained jobs with their present companies was by personally applying at employment offices. Approximately one-fifth of the Black managers and one-quarter of the white managers obtained employment with their present companies through friends or relatives. More than double the percentage of Black managers with four or less years of service, compared to those with four or more years of service, were referred to their companies by friends or relatives. This suggests that as the number of Black managers increases friends and relatives will become an increasingly important recruiting source. Dale L. Hiestand noted the importance of informal recruiting methods:

> The operations of the labor market are profoundly affected by the information and recruiting systems used by employers and the information systems used by jobseekers. In general, these tend to be highly informal, with family connections, word of mouth, and the like playing a relatively large role. The informal mechanisms work in such a way that white workers in better jobs in effect recruit other white persons as potential workers and few Negroes show up as applicants where they are not already well represented. Thus differential employment patterns tend to be self-perpetuating.[9]

The third most important source by which the managers obtained employment was recruitment by the companies or through college placement centers. The recent emphasis on recruiting Blacks at colleges is illustrated by the fact that more than half of the Black managers recruited at colleges have four or less years of service. This compares with less than one-tenth of the white managers with similar service.

When recruiting managers, all of the companies, except Ajax Manufacturing, indicated a preference for those individuals who have business administration degrees. Ace and Deuce Public Utilities and Cousins, Aunts and Ajax Manufacturing Companies also have preferences for graduates with engineering backgrounds. Triple C Bank has a preference for graduates with backgrounds in economics and Triple A Bank for graduates with backgrounds in liberal arts. The only one who indicated that his company has no preferences was the Personnel Director from Ajax Manufacturing who said, "All we want is people who could become good managers."

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[9] Dale L. Hiestand, Discrimination in Employment (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970), p. 26.

Margaret Gordon and Thal-Larsen in a labor study of employment practices in the San Francisco Bay Area wrote:

> In view of widespread interest in educational requirements for managerial workers, we also asked several questions relating to the particular types of college training preferred. Very few of our respondents indicated that they attempted to select, as potential managers, graduates from any particular colleges, business schools, or other institutions of higher education. There was, however, a decided tendency among the establishments requiring a college degree to prefer a degree in business administration or engineering over such majors as the natural sciences or humanities. These results are generally consistent with those of a nationwide study conducted a decade ago, and it appears likely that technological developments of the last decade--especially the increasing tendency to use computers to provide information and analysis relating to managerial decision-making--may well have tended to strengthen preferences for degrees in business administration and engineering. In fact, the preferences for engineering and "bus ad" majors often expressed the employer's belief that the completion of these majors, more than others, was evidence of a commitment to the business community, and understanding of modern technology, or a demonstration of various work habits and other characteristics relevant to the selection decision.[10]

Although the majority of the firms in this study, and according to Gordon and Thal-Larsen's study most other firms, give preference to candidates with degrees in the sciences and business administration, it is quite evident from this study that there are also many opportunities for individuals with degrees in the humanities and social sciences and also for individuals without degrees.

In order to have a successful recruitment program, the recruiters and interviewers of the firms or of those agencies used by the firms for recruiting should be carefully selected and trained. The primary reason for this is that regardless of an individual's background the initial impression the individual makes on the recruiter or interviewer is critical. The situation for Blacks when seeking employment becomes further complicated due to the great possibility of the non-Black interviewers or recruiters possessing racial stereotypes and negative attitudes about Blacks. This, of course, would severely handicap the Blacks' chances of making a good impression. Very few of the companies have taken concrete steps to carefully select and train their recruiters and interviewers.

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[10] Margaret Gordon and Thal-Larsen, Employer Policies in a Changing Labor Market (Berkeley, 1969), p. 277.

Most of the companies periodically send some of their Black managers to recruit at Black colleges; however, in general, it is done by the predominantly white Personnel Departments.[11] Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies do not have any college recruiters specifically assigned to their small operations. Their managers are recruited by the recruiters at their corporate headquarters.

Only Triple C Bank had a full time Black college recruiter (1969-1971). (The position was abolished in 1972.) His position was developed as a result of great pressures by a group of Black managers several years ago. More specifically, the Black managers became disenchanted with the lack of progress their company was making in the area of Black managerial opportunities; therefore, they formed a group to approach the senior white managers about improving the company's record in hiring Blacks. Numerous meetings took place during which there was an implied threat on the part of some Black managers that they would resign if the company did not take some steps toward improving the number of Black managers. The result of these meetings was the establishment of a Black recruiter.

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[11] As noted before, Triple A Bank has only recently decided to permit their Black managers to recruit other Blacks for managerial positions.

Recruiter and interviewer bias has been made a little more difficult by federal regulations. The regulations state that the reasons for rejection of a candidate must be specific, job related, and must apply only to the applicant. Vague or unsubstantiated statements such as the following are unacceptable: "better qualified applicants available" (unless such applicants are identified), "personality conflict," "not suitable for our operations," and "personality not suited to departments."

Some of the companies in the study are taking additional steps to assure that their recruiters and interviewers are not rejecting minorities just because they are minorities. For example, Ace Public Utility and Triple A Bank regularly review the hiring records of their recruiters and interviewers.

Although there have been steps taken to eliminate recruiter and interviewer bias, there will never be a totally objective recruiting and interviewing system because it is impossible to develop a completely mechanized system with no human involvement whatsoever.

In sum: most of the firms recruit at some of the well-known Black colleges. The firms also use other methods of recruiting such as newspaper ads, civil rights organizations, and employment agencies; however, there was little agreement on the best methods of recruiting Black managers. In general, the firms, although expressing preferences for managers with business administration and engineering degrees, have a large minority of managers with degrees in the humanities and social sciences. And finally, it was shown that although the firms realize the importance of having knowledgeable, sensitive recruiters and interviewers, in general they have not taken any concrete steps to select qualified recruiters and interviewers--the job is normally left to the generally all-white Personnel Departments.

C. Testing policies

Managerial testing does not seem to be an important part of the companies' evaluation procedures. Only half, Ace Public Utility and Cousins, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies, indicated they use aptitude and achievement tests to evaluate new managers whether they are college-educated or moving up from non-management to management positions. None of the firms use psychological tests.

Several personnel managers in Triple A Bank and Aunts Manufacturing indicated that their companies do not use tests for college graduates because they have not found tests to be helpful in evaluating management potential or qualifications, especially with minority managers. Many managers who score high on tests may not be the best managers of people and/or the best decision-makers.

The decreased reliance on tests in evaluating potential managers or managers is also a result of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In August 1966, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued the following guidelines on employment testing procedures:

> The Commission accordingly interprets "professionally developed ability test" to mean a test which fairly measures the knowledge or skills required by the particular job or class of jobs which the applicant seeks, or which fairly affords the employer a chance to measure the applicant's ability to perform a particular job or class of jobs. The fact that a test was prepared by an individual or organization claiming expertise in test preparation does not, without more, justify its use within the meaning of Title VII.[12]

In August 1970, the EEOC elaborated on the testing guidelines. These guidelines demanded that employers using tests have available: "data demonstrating that the test is productive of or significantly correlated with important elements of work behavior comprising or relevant to the job or jobs for which Guidelines are being evaluated."[13]

In Griggs vs. Duke Power Co., the U. S. Supreme Court agreed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) position. Chief Justice Burger wrote:

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[12] Griggs vs. Duke Power Co., Number 124-October Term 1970, p. 9.

[13] Ibid., p. 9.

> . . . From the sum of the legislative history relevant in this case, the conclusion is inescapable that the EEOC's construction of 703H to require that employment tests be job-related comports with congressional intent.
>
> Nothing in the Act precludes the use of testing or measuring procedures; obviously they are useful. What Congress has forbidden is giving these devices and mechanisms controlling force unless they are demonstrably a reasonable measure of job performance. Congress has not commanded that the less qualified be preferred over the better qualified simply because of minority origins. Far from disparaging job qualifications as such, Congress has made such qualifications the controlling factor, so that race, religion, nationality, and sex become irrelevant. What Congress has commanded is that any tests used must measure the person for the job and not the person in the abstract.[14]

Primarily because of these two reasons, the importance of testing managers (employees) has been greatly reconsidered by many firms; however, several giant corporations are still using tests and strongly support the validity of tests as one criterion in selecting managers and workers.

D. Training programs

All of the firms have training programs for employees at all levels of employment; however, only their management training programs will be discussed. None of the companies have special training programs designed specifically to develop minority managers.

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Training programs are normally designed for three types of managers: the new college graduate who is just entering the firm, the new college graduate who has been judged a high achiever, and the non-management worker promoted into a supervisory position.

The new college graduate training programs attempt to give the trainee a diverse amount of experience in his first one to two years with the company. This training normally consists of on-the-job training and company sponsored classroom training. Generally during the training period the trainees select, or others select for them, a specialized area in which they will begin their first non-training career.

The high risk-high reward program is set up for those college graduates who have been judged as high achievers. They are normally given higher salaries and more demanding assignments. After a short orientation course lasting approximately two to three weeks, the trainee is given challenging tasks under the close supervision of a 'sponsor" who is normally two management levels above the trainee. At the end of the first year the trainee is evaluated by his "sponsor." If the evaluation is positive, the trainee is retained and is almost guaranteed to make middle management much faster than the regular college graduates. However, if the evaluation is mediocre or negative, the trainee is asked to resign. Ace Public Utility, Triple C Bank, and Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies have this high risk-high reward training program.

The third training program, whi l of the firms have, is for non-management employees who hav n given the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities in handling greater responsibility and who have demonstrated managerial potential by performing their duties in an above average fashion. The training program generally consists of the trainees being assigned to a number of management training programs for various lengths of time. After the training sessions, they receive management assignments in the areas they previously worked in as non-managers.

The number of Blacks in these programs is usually quite low--approximately 2-3 percent, primarily because of racial discrimination. Ferman found a similar lack of Blacks in training programs in his study of twenty firms:

> Relatively few Negroes were reported to be in . . . formal training programs . . . . Except in companies in which the union seniority system plays a paramount role in training opportunities, the selection of a worker for training is based on the personal recommendation of his supervisor. In most cases, then, the Negro's immediate supervisor assumes a gatekeeper role regarding his admission to training.[15]

Only Ace Public Utility and Century Manufacturing have established goals to improve the number of Blacks in their training programs. Century Manufacturing maintains a list of twenty-five potential managers who are selected from the blue-collar ranks. The company's goal is to include five minorities on the list, including one female.

In conclusion, although most of the firms have three types of managerial training programs, few Blacks participate as trainees.

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[15] Ferman, p. 70.

The small number of Blacks can be attributed in great part to the negative racial attitudes which exist among white managers. Only Ace Public Utility, Triple A Bank and Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies have established goals to increase the number of Blacks in these programs.[16]

E. Promotional policies

All of the firms in this study have stressed the fact that the vast majority of their positions are filled from within. One manager described the promotional process in his company, which is relevant to all companies, in the following way: "Our company is a paternalistic organization which moves people from very low positions to very high positions." In this study, significant numbers of Black and white managers believe that their companies' promotional procedures should be more objective. That large numbers of Black and white managers would make their companies' promotional policies more objective is not surprising. Promotional decisions will always have a strong subjective element because people must make the final decision on who will or will not be promoted. Caplow put it this way:

> The essential element in hierarchic promotion is that promotion depends on the judgment, and hence on the good will, of one's superiors. Wherever merit is appraised by agencies outside the occupational framework--the market, the critics, or the record book--the judgment of superiors is of course qualified by these "objective" factors. But even objective achievement usually requires the active cooperation of occupational superiors.[17]

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[16] Ajax Manufacturing has just recently set a goal to have Blacks make up 33 percent of its various management training programs. Triple A Bank is now in the process of setting up separate training programs for minorities in order that they may be trained and advanced faster to middle and upper management positions.

[17] Caplow, p. 72.

While all managers are confronted with the problem of biased evaluations by their superior(s), Black managers have the additional problem of racial biases. Thus, in order to reach any affirmative action goals and thereby have an effective Affirmative Action Program, it is essential for the firms to institute procedures which would control the level of evaluation bias. However, only Ace Public Utility has stated officially that it will take action against managers who discriminate against Blacks. The company's Affirmative Action Manual states that if managers use discriminatory criteria to hold Black employees back, they will be subjected to the appropriate disciplinary action up to and including dismissal depending on the severity of the case. Ajax and Century Manufacturing's AAP Co-ordinators said that there is not an officially stated policy to discipline managers who practice discrimination, but that it is an unofficial policy. The remaining five companies explained that because it is impossible to measure racial attitudes, they do not consider an individual's racial attitude as a valid criterion for taking disciplinary action or as a promotional criterion. Even Ace Public Utility which has an officially stated policy and Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies, whose policies are unofficial, do essentially what the other companies do which is to shift the bigots to a position where there are no or only a few minority employees or to just put up with them. However, many Black managers in this study cited cases where Blacks were fired or reorganized out of their companies because of "militant" attitudes in the opinions of the whites, i.e., their speaking up about discriminatory company policies. Thus if you are a "militant" Black, watch out; but if you are a racist white, you rarely need to worry about your attitudes getting you fired. These companies are not ready to vigorously and sincerely confront the problem of bigoted white managers.

Some steps are being taken to bring about an understanding between the races. Ace and Deuce Public Utilities, Aunts and Cousins Manufacturing Companies, and Triple A Bank have held various types of management race relations training programs. Ace Public Utility holds some for incoming managers to orient them with the company's affirmative action policies and some ". . . primarily for managers who are directly responsible for the assimilation of new employees from different cultural backgrounds into the work force." In addition, Ace Public Utility and Triple C Bank have sent some of their managers to management sensitivity programs outside of their companies.

The sincerity or priority of the racial understanding programs of some firms may be questioned. For example, the Chairman of the Board and the President of one of the companies strongly supported the idea of a sensitivity training seminar for all the managers; however, less than 20 percent of the top management actually participated. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President attended the seminar when scheduled. Because of the poor attendance and a strong protest by the Affirmative Action

Program Co-ordinator, a second one was given with a better attendance.

In sum: the companies' promotional policies typically emphasize promotion from within. Generally the individuals' immediate superiors determine if they will be promoted. The fact that subjective criteria enter into promotional decisions, because individuals must make the final decision on who or who does not get promoted, has made many managers, Black and white, believe that more objective promotional systems should be established in their companies. Except for infrequent race relations training seminars, none of the companies have taken steps to deal with white managers whose negative racial attitudes foster unfair evaluations of Blacks.

F. Structures of the companies' Affirmative Action Programs

In order to have an effective Affirmative Action Program there must be an organization which is responsible for implementing the program and assuring compliance. In this section the focus will be on the structures established to implement the AAPs and the managers primarily responsible for the implementation and enforcement of the programs.

The Industrial Relations Manager is the person primarily responsible for Ajax Manufacturing's Affirmative Action Program. The Assistant Manager of Installation and the Personnel Manager are responsible for Century Manufacturing's program. These managers have three or four assistants who are responsible for dealing with complaints, keeping statistics, filing EEO reports, and revising the program. Because these are small operations, the Affirmative Action Co-ordinators report directly to the Corporate Co-ordinators.

Ace Public Utility has a more elaborate structure, as one would expect. The Corporate Vice-President of Personnel, responsible for the company's AAP, reports directly to his immediate superior, the President. The managers who report to the Corporate Vice-President of Personnel for the AAP are the Vice-President and General Manager of each area or regional staff. Each area also has a regional Assistant Vice-President of Personnel who is delegated the responsibility for administration and implementation of the program. In addition, to assist the Assistant Vice-Presidents of Personnel there is a Corporate AAP Co-ordinator and nine area and regional AAP Co-ordinators. These Co-ordinators are responsible for the preparation of AAP documents and compliance reviews, the investigation of discrimination complaints, and progress reviews.

Finally, there are the Urban Affairs Representatives in each area or company branch. These representatives, among other duties, recruit, select, hire, and place minorities and women. In addition, they are available to counsel minorities and women and/or their supervisors. Their job, basically, is to help the company in whatever way possible to fulfill its affirmative action obligations.

In order to co-ordinate the activities of all of these managers, Ace Public Utility has set up two committees--the

Interdepartmental Personnel Committee and the Interdepartmental Urban Affairs Committee. The former committee is made up of middle-upper level managers responsible for personnel matters in their respective departments. The committee meets regularly to review and discuss activities related to general personnel matters and affirmative action.

This committee is charged with the difficult responsibility to insure that the company's sub-units are complying with the company's Affirmative Action Program.

The Interdepartmental Urban Affairs committee is composed of personnel managers who are involved in affirmative action and urban affair activities. The committee meets at least monthly to co-ordinate activities in these areas.

Triple C Bank's AAP structure is just the opposite of Ace Public Utility's. The manager primarily responsible for Triple C Bank's affirmative action effort (the term effort is used because this company does not have an official program) is the Senior Vice-President of Personnel. His primary assistant is the Human Relations Officer. The latter is responsible for the preparation and handling of compliance reviews, investigating discrimination complaints, and the progress reviews on the AAP. In short, he is responsible for the overall program. When this manager was interviewed, the writer asked him if he had any assistance in fulfilling his numerous tasks. He said, "Everyone is my assistant. If I see a problem I tell the parties to correct it and it is corrected."

Cousins Manufacturing, Triple A Bank and Deuce Public Utility have adopted the position that the individuals primarily responsible for their Affirmative Action Programs are the department, division, and, as is the case with the banks, the branch managers. However, these companies have middle level Corporate AAP Co-ordinators and their assistants who perform various review functions and reporting functions. The Vice-President AAP Co-ordinator for Triple A Bank has a Black Assistant Vice-President as his primary assistant. Deuce Public Utility's Corporate AAP Co-ordinator is Black, who, according to well placed managers in the company, received the position primarily because of his family's influence in national politics.

Cousins Manufacturing has a Black Corporate Affirmative Action Co-ordinator who had several problems when he first assumed his position. He was with the firm only one and one-half years before he became the Corporate AAP Co-ordinator, replacing his white boss who was promoted. Twenty years prior to joining the company he was a member of the U. S. Army, retiring with the rank of Colonel. Many times during the first six months, white managers, who would normally consult the Corporate AAP Co-ordinator about a problem, would either consult his boss to seek a solution to the problem or ask his boss if it would be all right to consult the Black Co-ordinator! Not only did they bypass him because of his race, but it is also possible that they did not have confidence in him because of his short period of time with the firm before he took over a responsible and potentially powerful position; yet race is probably the most important reason.

Aunts Manufacturing's Corporate AAP Co-ordinator reports directly to the President of the company. He has AAP Co-ordinators at all of the large operations. The plant managers of the smaller operations have the primary responsibility for the Affirmative Action Program at their operations. This company is the only company in the study which separates the Affirmative Action functions from the Personnel functions. Each function is a separate entity with its own organizational structure. In addition, it is the only company which has the AAP Co-ordinator reporting directly to the President. There are several advantages to this type of setup. First, the AAP Co-ordinator is the representative of the President and everyone knows that when he speaks he is speaking for the President. Second, the Affirmative Action Department has its own budget; therefore, it does not have to compete for funds not only with other departments but also with specific groups within a department. A third advantage is independence: the Affirmative Action Department is an "outside" investigator of personnel problems--it is not comprised of personnel people investigating personnel practices.

Although there are various AAP structures--from the very well organized and structured of Ace Public Utility to the very unorganized and unstructured of Triple C Bank--none of the firms have taken any steps to assure that all of the managers, especially the white managers, who are primarily involved in the area of affirmative action, are sensitive and committed to the idea of equal opportunities for all. Generally the managers are rotated into those positions without any prior evaluation of their racial attitudes or their "qualifications." In addition, these positions are generally filled by individuals who are ineffective in other jobs. In short, these positions are frequently looked upon as undesirable, dead end jobs for incompetent managers.

One should not conclude that Black managers in these programs should not also be carefully evaluated. However, the crucial problem is with the racist attitudes of the whites, since they have the real power to bring about changes.

G. Compliance procedures

All of the companies, except Cousins Manufacturing, use printouts containing information on all of their employees. The information in the printouts normally gives the age, race, length of service, sex, and salary of every employee. Triple C Bank and Aunts Manufacturing have additional information on educational level and date and percentage of last raise.

Triple A Bank described the rationale for the computer printouts in this manner:

> Computer reports are made so that profiles can be drawn to determine which Division, District, Branch or Department is meeting the requirements. Similar reports showing the placement of every employee help us determine whether minorities are being under-utilized in any job categories. It also gives us accurate feed-back and the ability to audit the degree of compliance with the bank's equal opportunity policy. An additional computer report enables us to audit the upgarde advancement of minroities from the list of all employees

> by grade and the date reaching that grade.[18]

The various types of reports required by each firm are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REPORTS REQUIRED BY THE FIRMS

Type of Reports	Names of Companies Requiring Reports
EEO-1 Annual Report to the Government	All
Monthly Minority Progress Report	Ace, Triple C, Aunts, Triple A, Ajax, Century, and Deuce
Annual Supervisory and Management Summary	Cousins, Aunts, and Ajax
EEO-1 Employment Data (Semi-annual requirement)	Ace, Cousins, Aunts, Triple A, and Ajax
Quarterly Overall Minority Employment Summary	Ace, Cousins, Aunts, Triple A, and Ajax
Quarterly Supervisory/ Management Summary	Ace, Cousins, Aunts, and Ajax
Quarterly Hard Core Summary	Ace, Cousins, and Aunts

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[18] This quotation comes from p. 3 of a short affirmative action statement put out by the company.

Many of these reporting procedures, while they could be useful in measuring their companies' progress toward more equal and efficient employment of Blacks, are somewhat meaningless since there are no goals to reach and timetables to meet. In addition, there is a general feeling among many Black and some white managers that these reporting procedures are more for show and public relations than for compliance checks. For example, in reviewing one company's AAP printout the writer asked the AAP Co-ordinator to assist him in interpreting the data, but the Co-ordinator was himself unable to interpret the printout.

In sum: it is evident that Ace Public Utility is the only company in this study which has taken the time to develop an elaborate, well defined, constructive Affirmative Action Program. It is also evident that Triple C Bank has not decided, as of yet, to face the fact that in order to assure Blacks equal employment opportunities, affirmative steps must be taken. Most of the Affirmative Action Programs of the remaining companies are in between these two extremes. Several are taking a few steps forward in providing Blacks with equal opportunities and the remaining are still not convinced that the requirements of the laws must be met sooner or later, thus not really attacking the problems of employmen discrimination.

Why the Companies' Affirmative Action Programs Differ: Introduction

In the previous section it was noted that such factors as governmental laws and pressures, civil rights groups' activities, internal pressures from Black employees, and company "commitments" have all shaped the formulation and implementation of Affirmative Action Programs. In this section these factors will be evaluated in more detail in addition to such factors as the riots of the 1960's, the companies' characteristics, i.e., type of industry and products and locations, the companies' views of what constitutes measures of success in equal employment, problems anticipated by the companies, and "key" personnels' attitudes and influence on the companies' policies.

A. Government influence

Many students of minority employment have pointed out that the primary motivating force behind the employment of Blacks in corporations has been governmental laws and regulations. The firms in this study have been subjected to more than ten Executive Orders since President Roosevelt issued the first Executive Order (8802) in 1941 prohibiting racial discrimination in employment among government contractors.

In 1964, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was signed. It was the first comprehensive equal employment opportunity law ever passed by Congress. This law provided for the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as its administrative and enforcement agency; however, the EEOC was given the right to conciliate, but not the power to compel employers to conform to the equal employment opportunity law. The law provides that if an individual claims an alleged discrimination in violation of Title VII, he/she may sue after exhausting his rights with the EEOC. However, in the Spring of 1972, Congress passed a law giving the EEOC power to bring suits against firms found not in compliance with Title VII without having to have an employee file the suit.

> This section establishes the enforcement powers and functions of the EEOC and the Attorney General to aid in the prevention of unlawful employment practices proscribed by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
>
> H. R. 1746 retains the general scheme of the present law which enables the EEOC to process a charge of employment discrimination through the investigation and conciliation stages. In addition, H. R. 1746 now authorizes the EEOC, in cases where the respondent is not a government, governmental agency or political subdivision to file a civil action against the respondent in an appropriate Federal District Court, if it has been unable to eliminate an alleged unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. The Attorney General is authorized to file civil actions against respondents that are governments, governmental agencies or political subdivisions if the EEOC is unable to achieve a successful conciliation.[19]

With regard to the passing of H. R. 1746, William Brown, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, noted:

> Title VII as *originally* proposed in 1964 *did* contain enforcement powers for the Commission, but these *were deleted* to assure passage of other

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[19] Analysis by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., *Congressional Record*, March 6, 1972, Washington, D. C., p. F-1.

> provisions. Thus, from its inception in 1965 until just this year, EEOC labored under the handicap of no enforcement powers. It is only fair to say that we intend to use our new powers to their fullest and the effect of those powers on the personnel policies of the nation's employers should not be underestimated. No less than a new era of activism in the enforcement of civil rights law has begun.[20]

Although the government has not been a strong, consistent enforcer of its own laws, federal courts have provided a strong impetus for equal employment opportunities. As the AAP Co-ordinator of Aunts Manufacturing noted:

> Concerning the power of law - in retrospect, the most significant accomplishment toward achieving EEO has occurred through the federal courts by virtue of definition and mandate, or threat of the same, rather than by any voluntary action on the part of the government. The examples are too numerous to mention . . . .[21]

According to him, government actions and pressures have had the following effect on his firm:

> It has been five years since the Corporation identified Equal Employment Opportunity as a new and important management responsibility and objective. The concept was acknowledged as early as 1963 when the company joined "Plans for Progress." However, it is clear that the Title VII lawsuit at . . . in early 1967 (which is still unresolved), charging us with violation of the Civil Rights Act, served as the spur to our declaration of commitment to Equal Employment Opportunity and the establishment of a corporate function responsible for directing the implementation of that commitment.[22]

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[20] From a seminar report prepared by the Affirmative Action Program Co-ordinator of Aunts Manufacturing Company, p. 5.

[21] Ibid., p. 7.

[22] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Put another way, the government is making the cost of discrimination greater than most companies can afford and/or are willing to pay. A most notable example of the costliness of discrimination is the EEOC case filed against American Telephone and Telegraph which was finally settled in mid-January 1973 at a cost of 38 million dollars. This $38 million does not include millions of dollars for legal, administrative, and management costs.

Triple C Bank increased its employment of Black female managers in 1971-72 by 120 percent (17-37) and white female managers by 36 percent (1,325-1,801). This increase took place after a suit was filed against the company alleging sex discrimination.

Finally, as Chapter IV will show, the firms in this study only began to make more than token efforts to employ Black managers in 1967 when the implications of Title VII began to be realized and understood by the business community. In short, governmental laws and regulations have been one of the most important factors in making firms develop programs to assure that Blacks have equal opportunities; however, the programs developed by these firms are quite diverse, indicating governmental pressures are having more effect on some firms than on others. Thus, other reasons are needed to explain the differences in the companies' employment policies towards Blacks.

B. Social pressures and riots

The federal government did not take the initiative to assure Blacks equal employment opportunities without outside pressure. President Roosevelt issued the first Executive Order after Black leaders agreed to call off a threatened march on the nation's capital. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can be directly attributed to the social pressures on the government from Black civil rights groups and their white allies. As John E. Means wrote:

> "White America, with few exceptions, was little interested in ameliorating the lot of the Negro or in gaining a more sympathetic understanding of his needs." Only through militant action was better economic opportunity for all minority groups to be gained: by demonstrations, protest meetings, mass marches.[23]

Probably one of the strongest social pressures which made many urban corporations take steps to increase their Black employment in the mid and late 1960's was the urban riots. In this study, a substantial number of the Black and white managers believe that the riots of the 1960's had a positive effect on their companies' employment policies toward Blacks when they were asked the specific question: How do you believe the ghetto riots of the 1960's affected your company's employment policy for Blacks?

As Table 4 shows the Black managers believe the riots had a much stronger effect on their companies' employment policies than the white managers.

Whether the riots had a positive, negative, or no effect on these companies' employment policies depends on how the managers personally perceived the situation. For example, in Ace Public Utility the riots signaled a need to its management that the company must put forth greater efforts in the employment of Blacks. In Deuce Public Utility the riots did not trigger any significant positive response from the management to change their employment policies with regard to Blacks. Some of the typical responses of the managers follow.

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[23] John E. Means, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation and Enforcement in the U. S.," in Louis A. Ferman, et al., Negroes and Jobs (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), p. 459.

TABLE 4

EFFECT OF RIOTS ON THE COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Type of Effect	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Tremendously-Positively	35 %	5 %
Positive Effect	27	37
Awareness-Positively	10	20
No Effect-Negatively	10	2
Affected Only Non-Managerial Positions	4	0
No Effect-Positively	4	16
Indirectly-Positively	1	10
Negative Effect	1	2
Don't Know	8	8
Total	100	100

A white lower level banker in Triple A Bank described his opinion in this way: "They affected everyone's attitude. There was a realization of the problem. It was an unfortunate way to do it, but it helped. The country has always been violent."

A white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing commented: "The riots spurred them (the company) on. I'm sort of glad they happened. They brought to attention the fact that they (Blacks) weren't going to wait around. They made whites realize the frustration and desperation of the Blacks in the ghetto."

A lower level Black manager in Triple C Bank: "They helped a great deal in hiring aspect but not in promotion aspect. The only thing that helped in promotions was an actual confrontation."

Two contrasting views of a white lower level manager and a Black lower level manager from Triple C Bank are as follows: The white manager said, "They affected it emphatically. Prior to this time the bank operated in an 'ivory tower' atmosphere. This awakened them to the need of these Blacks with regard to jobs, living standards, everything." The Black manager said, "They affected it very little. There was no change for the managerial level. There were some changes for the lower levels."

Thus far it has been shown that both governmental pressures and riots have had extremely mixed effects on the companies' employment policies for Blacks.

The EEO Co-ordinators in all of the companies, except Cousins and Century Manufacturing Companies, indicated that their companies have responded to pressures by various civil rights groups to improve the Black managers' situation in the corporate world. It was noted earlier that Triple C Bank made a commitment to improve their employment of Blacks because of pressures by CORE and other civil rights groups in 1964. More specifically, beginning in January 1964, CORE, NAACP, and the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination began a long protracted confrontation with Triple C Bank. At that time Blacks made up 2.2 percent of the total employment force of the company and 99 percent of the Blacks were in the lowest paying, non-managerial positions. After more than six months of negotiations and demonstrations, an impasse occurred between the bank and CORE; however, an agreement was reached between the bank and the California FEPC. However, the only concrete result of this confrontation was that the bank appointed a well known Black, with many years of governmental experience, as its first Assistant Vice-President, which is a middle level management position. After the pressure from CORE was lifted, the company returned to its previous non-committed policy of employing Blacks.

It was also noted that Triple A Bank established goals and timetables to hire minorities as a result of pressures from a coalition of civil rights groups.

In the Summer of 1970, Treasury Secretary David Kennedy ordered an investigation of Triple A Bank's minority and female employment policies after it was named in a civil rights suit filed by minority and women groups and California Rural Legal Assistance. Although the federal review found Triple A Bank's employment policies commendable, Triple A Bank reached an agreement on November 27, 1970, with the civil rights groups to formulate a hiring program with timetables which would reflect the population ratio of the state. The overall goal was to increase their minority work force (Blacks, Chicanos, and Asians) by 20 percent by 1972.

Ace Public Utility and Aunts Manufacturing Company have made commitments to various civil rights groups to establish training programs for minorities entering non-managerial positions. This outside pressure from civil rights groups, while having an impact on the companies' Affirmative Action Programs, has had a minimal effect because there generally has not been continuous pressure on these firms over a long period of time. Once the crisis is over and the pressure has been relaxed, most firms revert back to their previous unfavorable employment policies towards Blacks.

The previous examples concerned the effectiveness of outside pressures in bringing about change in these companies' employment policies for Blacks. With regard to internal pressures, Ace and Deuce Public Utilities, Triple A and Triple C Banks, and Ajax Manufacturing Company have been subjected to pressures from their Black employees.

In Ajax Manufacturing, organized protest by Black workers resulted in the promotion of two Blacks to management positions, the upgrading of Blacks into better blue-collar positions, and a more detailed Affirmative Action Program.

In 1970, Triple A Bank, after a meeting between top management and the Black managers, began to develop innovative methods to improve the number of Black managers in the firm and their level of achievement. As noted before, Triple C Bank set up a position for a Black recruiter because of pressures from its Black managers. Finally Ace and Deuce Public Utilities have had a number of meetings between Black employee groups and management concerning issues of Black employment and their companies' relationship to the Black community.

All the firms, except Century Manufacturing, have Black managers organizing themselves. Since these organizations are just beginning to be established, their impact on their companies' employment policies cannot yet be evaluated; however, one could speculate that well organized, sustained efforts by Black employees to assure that Blacks are receiving equal treatment, nothing more and nothing less, will have a great impact on their firms. Seminars given at the participating firms about the findings of this study always brought out the surprised remark: "We didn't know our Blacks were dissatisfied with the company and were forming groups. We thought we were making real progress." These companies can no longer insist that their problems are created by outside agitators when their own employees are organizing to pressure their companies into providing equal employment opportunities for Blacks.

In concluding this section, it should be remembered that external and internal pressures have had a minimal effect on these companies' employment policies with regard to Blacks. In general, these companies have reacted to the immediate pressures with a minimum amount of positive change and then have reverted back to their previous practices or do not take the initiative to improve the situation any more than is absolutely necessary. Thus, unless social pressures are continuous and determined, their success will be minimal.

C. Industry and firm characteristics

Northrup, *et al*. argued that the difference between companies in their employment of Blacks can be attributed in part to the industry characteristics. In this study there are four service-oriented firms, the two banks and the two public utilities, and four manufacturing, non-service-oriented firms. It would not be unreasonable to assume that service-oriented firms are less progressive than non-service-oriented firms because of their fear of white customer reactions toward Black employees, yet on the other hand, one could expect them to be more progressive because of their desire to corner the lucrative Black consumer market.

Bernard Anderson wrote: "The nature of customer markets gives the telephone industry a strong residential customer orientation much like that in the electric power and gas utilities . . . ." He continued:

> The burden of public contact rested upon the linemen, meter readers, trouble clerks, and cashiers in the business office. Because the managers of public utility firms were deeply concerned with maintaining a favorable public image, there was widespread reluctance to employ Negroes in "nontraditional" public contact jobs.[24]

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[24] Bernard Anderson, *The Negro in the Public Utilities* (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 54.

Although Anderson was writing about the public utilities industry, this idea could be applied to the banking industry.

In this study, when the managers were asked if they believe any of their customers or distributors or management personnel from other companies would feel in any way uncomfortable if they hired or promoted a Black person into a management position, almost half of the Black managers and one-third of the white managers believe that some of their customers or distributors would feel uncomfortable. It is interesting to note that a much higher percent of the Black managers in the two banks believe that some of their customers or distributors would be uncomfortable, compared to the Black managers from the other companies--two-thirds. The probable explanation for this perception by the Black bank managers is that as Black bankers they have more extensive contact with the public than do the Black managers from the other firms; therefore, they have had more experiences which would make them respond affirmatively to this question. However, the white managers in the two banking firms do not deviate from the average.

With regard to the uncomfortable feelings of management persons from other companies, half of the Black managers and only one-fourth of the white managers believe that managers from other companies would feel uncomfortable about Blacks in management positions. Again the Black bankers answered this question affirmatively more often than their Black counterparts in the other companies.

In this study, it is clear that in terms of commitment to equal employment opportunities as demonstrated by the companies'

Affirmative Action Programs, the two most progressive and two least progressive firms are service-oriented. Thus, in this study, whether a firm is service-oriented or not does not seem to shape its inequality of opportunity.

Another industry distinction which exists in this study is that Ace and Deuce Public Utilities are regulated monopolies, while the other six companies are not. A regulated monopoly has an advantage in that it can pursue equal employment opportunities as vigorously as it wishes. This is possible because they are largely immune from customer retaliation; thus, they can hire Blacks without any great concern over losing their white customers or they can continue to practice discrimination without any great concern over losing those customers who favor equal employment of Blacks. The other firms, on the other hand, can readily lose white customers who might resent the employment of Blacks or customers who resent discrimination against Blacks. Furthermore, because of their monopolistic position, they are more immune to the cost of discrimination than competitive firms.

Anderson wrote the following with regard to the monopolistic characteristics of the public utilities:

> Because discrimination, in part, imposes additional costs on employers, the extent of discrimination may be related to the degree of competition in the market place. All other things being equal, non-discriminators may be expected to have a lower unit cost of production, and thus, be able to enjoy higher sales or rapid expansion. In terms of economic theory, the non-discriminator will maximize profits at a lower unit cost than the firm which practices discrimiation. For this reason, some economists have stressed the importance of competition and the free entry into product markets

> as a means of reducing discrimination and broadening the opportunities for blacks.[25]

Comparing the two regulated monopolies' Affirmative Action Programs to the AAPs of the remaining six firms, again it seems that because they are regulated monopolies does not mean their employment of Blacks is exemplary--Ace Public Utility is the best and Deuce Public Utility is one of the worst.

Even when one looks at two of the firms in the same industry, such as the two banks, there is a difference. As will be seen later, these differences are due primarily to the manner in which the management perceives, interprets, and responds to the pressures working for and against providing Blacks with equal employment opportunities.

Thus far it has been shown that for thirty years all of these firms have been subjected to pressure by the government requiring them to practice equal employment opportunity and most have had external and/or internal social pressure applied to them to practice equal employment. In addition, it was shown that, regardless of the type of industry, there are no specific characteristics which characterize a progressive or non-progressive firm in the area of equal employment for Blacks. Thus, there must be other factors which determine the progressiveness of a firm with regard to equal employment opportunity.

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[25] Anderson, p. 8.

D. Views of what constitutes a successful Affirmative Action Program

An additional explanation for the existence of various types of Affirmative Action Programs is that the firms have different concepts of what constitutes a successful Affirmative Action Program. Eight of the white managers, five who are directly responsible for the formulation and implementation of their companies' Affirmative Action Programs, and three of the white managers who work in the Affirmative Action Departments were asked their views on what constitutes a successful Affirmative Action Program. Six Black managers were also questioned on this subject. Two of the Black managers are Corporate AAP Co-ordinators in Cousins Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility. The remaining four Black managers are the higher ranking Blacks in the affirmative action area in their companies. There are no Black managers involved in Personnel or in the area of affirmative action in the two small companies, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies.

The specific question these managers were asked was: Which one of the following would be considered a major, good, minor, or no measure of success by your company in a program of equal employment opportunity?[26]

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[26] See Appendix B, pp. 536-537, for the table distribution of the managers' responses. The categories the managers were to rate are: (1) number of Black employees in relation to the number of Blacks in the community; (2) distribution of Blacks through job classification; (3) the income level of the Blacks in the company; (4) the visibility of Blacks in the company; (5) job mobility of Blacks in the company; (6) the presence of Black employees in the management, technical, or supervisory levels of the company; (7) the number of entry level jobs that have been filled by Blacks; (8) other.

There was general agreement among the Black and white managers that the job mobility of Blacks in the company, presence of Black employees in management, technical or supervisory levels of the company, distribution of Blacks through job classifications, and population parity should be considered as major or good measures of success and that visibility of Blacks should be considered a minor measure of success.

Four of the white managers and one Black manager consider the number of Blacks in entry level jobs as a major measure of success and three white managers and one Black manager consider it a good measure of success. There is less agreement between the Black and white managers on this measure than on any of the other measures.

The second greatest difference between the white and Black managers is in rating the income level of the Blacks in the company. All of the Black managers believe that it should be considered a major or good measure of success, but only half of the white managers concurred. In fact, four of the Black managers and only one of the white managers consider it a major measure of success. There are several possible explanations for this difference. Many Black managers, as do many white managers, realize that income is a good reflection of managerial level and the importance of one's job; therefore, the Black managers consider income level as a good measure of success of their companies' AAPs. Another explanation will become apparent in Chapter VIII. There it will be seen that more Black managers selected higher income than any other factor as the most important factor they would look for if they were choosing a new job. This emphasis on income is due to the comparatively low salaries of Blacks at all levels of management compared to their white counterparts.

The white managers who consider income level as a minor measure of success could possibly feel that Blacks place too much emphasis on income. One frequently hears white managers say that they would like to hire some qualified Black managers, but because they are in such high demand their salary demands are beyond the limits of their company.[27] In addition, because most of the white managers, compared to the Black managers, who answered these questions make a great deal more money and are not so concerned with their income level, it is easier for them to play down the importance of income as a successful measure of their companies' AAPs. This fact is borne out more in Chapter VIII where a majority of the white managers in contrast to the Black managers believe the most important factors in their choosing a new job would be that the work is interesting and important and gives a sense of accomplishment.

Several important points should be made before concluding this section. The white AAP Co-ordinator for Triple C Bank indicated that reaching population parity with the surrounding community and the visibility of Blacks in the company should be considered good measures of success and that the number of entry level jobs held by Blacks should be considered a major measure of success.

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[27] Chapter V will show that this statement by white managers is incorrect. Black managers make less salary than white managers with similar education and work experience.

However, he indicated that the distribution of Blacks through job classifications, income level of the Blacks, job mobility of the Blacks, and presence of Black employees in the management, technical, or supervisory levels should be considered as only minor measures of success. His views reflect his company's weak Affirmative Action Program and are representative of his company's leadership.[28] The views of this manager are almost completely opposite from those of the white manager from Ace Public Utility. Significantly, Ace Public Utility has the most elaborate Affirmative Action Program.

The previous discussion points out that the white AAP Co-ordinators' views on what constitutes a successful AAP are reflected in the companies' Affirmative Action Programs, a case where ideology and practice come together.

E. Views of anticipated problems and problems which actually occurred

The differences in the companies' Affirmative Action Programs are also influenced by the problems these firms anticipated would occur upon implementing an Affirmative Action Program, i.e., if they anticipated numerous problems from various parties, the companies would develop strong Affirmative Action Programs; if no problems were anticipated, the companies would not develop strong Affirmative Action Programs. This seems to have been the case with these firms, as the AAP Co-ordinators' responses to the following two questions demonstrate.

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[28] Note that the white manager who answered the questions for Deuce Public Utility is a young, lower level manager who admitted that his views differed from those of the senior management. The writer, from his personal contact with some of the senior managers, believes their views are quite similar to those of the senior managers of Triple C Bank, i.e., there are no problems.

> What problems did you anticipate prior to the adoption of these minority group employment practices to be major, some, minor, or no problem in your firm?
>
> Looking back since the development of your EEO Program, which of these problems, if any, did occur? Again, please rate them according to major, some, minor, or no problem.[29]

There is general agreement among the Black and white AAP Co-ordinators that resistance to their companies' AAPs by white workers was anticipated as some or a major problem; however, there is less agreement between the Black and white managers with regard to anticipated resistance from supervisors and executives. The Black managers believe resistance by whites from all levels was anticipated as a major or some problem, but the white managers anticipated it as a major or some problem only among the workers and a minor or no problem among the managerial levels. The Black managers believe that resistance to their companies' AAPs has actually occurred at all levels, while the white managers believe there has been more resistance from the workers than from the managers.

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[29] The categories from which the managers could select are: (1) resistance by white workers; (2) lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs; (3) interference with productivity or worker efficiency; (4) community opposition; (5) poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites; (6) resistance by supervisors, resistance by executives, Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities.

There is general agreement that community opposition and poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites were anticipated as either minor or not problems and have become either minor or no problems. The same is true with interference with productivity or worker efficiency.

Lack of qualified Blacks to fill jobs available, while generally anticipated as a major or some problem by both the Black and white AAP Co-ordinators, has become a major or some problem in the opinion of three of the six Black AAP Co-ordinators and six of the eight white AAP Co-ordinators.

Finally, with regard to anticipated and actual problems, all six of the Black and four of the eight white AAP Co-ordinators believe that Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities was anticipated as some problem and four of the white and three of the Black AAP Co-ordinators believe that it has turned out to be some or a major problem.

Again, when one looks at the two extreme cases, it is seen that whether or not a company anticipated problems in moving their company from a predominantly white male dominated work force to an integrated work force in terms of race and sex will be reflected in their companies' Affirmative Action Program--Ace Public Utility anticipated many problems and thus developed a comprehensive, effective plan and Triple C Bank did not anticipate any problems and thus did not develop much of a program.

F. Views of where Affirmative Action Programs meet the most resistance[30]

It was noted that there is general agreement among the Black and white AAP Co-ordinators that resistance by white workers was anticipated as a major or some problem and has become some problem. Thirty-three percent of the white managers in this study agree that white subordinates would give Blacks unusually difficult challenges and only 10 percent of them strongly disagree, while 57 percent disagree. Thus, the AAP Co-ordinators have some support for their views about white workers resisting the efforts of the AAPs.

There is less agreement between the Black and white managers with regard to the anticipated resistance by supervisors and even less agreement with regard to the anticipated resistance by executives. All of the Black managers believe that resistance by whites--from all levels--was anticipated as a major or some problem; however, the white managers believe that the resistance decreased the higher up the occupational ladder the managers are. And there was considerable disagreement among the Black and white AAP Co-ordinators as to where the resistance actually occurred. These differences exist among the entire sample of Black and white managers in this study.

Table 5 shows the managers' responses to the question: At which managerial level do you believe your company's AAP meets the most resistance?

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[30] This section deals with the views of all the participating managers in this study, while sections D. and E. were the views of official company spokesmen.

TABLE 5

AT WHICH MANAGERIAL LEVEL DO COMPANIES' AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS MEET THE MOST RESISTANCE?

Level of Management	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Lower Management	25 %	36 %
Middle Management	37	19
Upper Management	42	18
No Resistance	2	22
All Levels	5	3
Resistance Is Individual	0	3
Don't Know	1	5
Total*	112	106

*The total percents are above 100 because some managers selected more than one level

A possible explanation for these differences in opinion between the Black and white managers is that more than 60 percent of the white managers in this study are middle or upper level managers while more than 71 percent of the Black managers are lower level managers. Because there is a general tendency to place the blame on the other guy, one would expect the white managers to select the lower level of management more than the middle and upper levels of management. As one upper level manager from Ace Public Utility said, "We never believe we are the problem; we always believe it is the other guy's."

When managerial level is used as the control variable, the data show that the Black lower level managers believe there is more than twice the amount of resistance to the AAPs from upper management than from lower management--21 percent of the Black lower level managers believe the resistance is most at the lower level of management, while 38 percent believe their programs meet the most resistance at the middle level of management, and 44 percent believe the most resistance comes from upper management! An equal number of Black middle level managers selected one of the three levels of management.

An equal number of white lower level managers also selected one of the three levels of management; however, the white middle level managers believe the most resistance comes from the lower level of management, 39 percent, the least amount from their level, 11 percent, and 18 percent from the upper level of management.

None of the upper level managers believe there is any resistance to their companies' AAPs at their level. They believe their companies' programs meet the most resistance in the lower level of management. However, four of the AAP Co-ordinators indicated that they had difficulties getting the upper management to pay more than just lip-service to their Affirmative Action Programs. One said that he must continuously struggle to get the senior people to accept any of his programs and once they are accepted, it is in a watered-down form. He believes that they still believe that all they have to do is to make statements and everything will be taken care of.

Again, the middle and upper level managers believe the most resistance comes from other levels of management because of a general tendency to project blame on others, i.e., think that they do not create the problems and do not harbor negative racial attitudes but others do. Twenty percent of the upper level white managers, 25 percent of the middle level white managers, and 17 percent of the lower level white managers believe there is no resistance to their companies' AAPs.

When company was used as the control variable, it was found that the Black managers in Triple A Bank and Ace Public Utility believe that the least resistance to their firms' AAPs comes from the upper managerial ranks and the most comes from the middle managerial ranks.

Black managers in Triple C Bank believe that their company's AAP meets the most resistance from upper management.

The vast majority of the Black and white managers who selected the lower level of management, 67 percent Black managers and 59 percent white managers, said essentially that there are many more Blacks competing with whites at the lower level; therefore, the whites at that level feel more threatened, fear Blacks more, and become more antagonistic toward Blacks than the middle and upper level white managers.

A Black lower level manager in Triple C Bank put it this way: "Most of the Blacks are hired at the lower level, thus there is more resistance because of the competition. The resistance will increase as Blacks move up the ladder."

Along the same lines a white middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing said: "The lower level managers have the most day-to-day contact with Blacks. The people at the lower level have to make the EEO policy work--they are directly involved. They have a different viewpoint than the people at the top."

This fear of competition was also sighted by the Black managers as the most frequent reason there is resistance from the middle level of management.

Most of the white managers who selected the middle level of management indicated that they believe middle managers are older and more conservative; thus it would be difficult to change their attitudes. As one white upper level manager from Aunts Manufacturing said: "At the middle level of management you find an age level which is less capable of handling change. They are not interested in assuming additional risks or in jeopardizing their careers. Most of them are harder to get at or to be able to influence." This statement about age could also apply to the upper level of management where most of the managers are over forty.

Another white lower level manager from the same company: "There is an innate discrimination of middle management--their own personal feelings. Older people are concentrated more at this level. They have never come to accept Black people--they haven't changed their ways."

Other than the Black managers believing that the resistance at the upper level of management is the greatest because of the lack of Black managers at that level and upper management does not want to give Blacks real power, there was no reason given more frequently than others; therefore, some of the managers' responses will be put forth in order to give the reader a better understanding of the reasons why the managers selected the upper level of management.

One white middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility who selected the upper level of management commented: "When a minority gets more power to make decisions they get up-tight. They believe in affirmative action until it begins to affect them."

A Black lower level manager from Triple C Bank felt the same way as the previous white manager: "The white man does not want to see niggers making major policy decisions."

The concept of Blacks having to be better than whites to be able to compete was expressed by another Black manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "Blacks must be twice as good as whites--they must be extremely superior niggers to make it to the top There are fewer jobs and more competition at the upper level and they usually give the break to the white man."

A Black female manager from Deuce Public Utility saw the reason for resistance in a different way: "When the program was described to her it seemed more like it was made up just to pacify the minorities and not because the company really was committed to improving the situation. The company is just trying to get people off their back and they won't really do anything."

A white lower level manager from Triple C Bank expressed the old adage about social intercourse: "Social discourse comes in between all large industries and Blacks are not accepted socially so they will not be promoted to the upper level of management."

In general, those white managers who said there is no resistance indicated that their companies are really committed to affirmative action. However, there were several white managers who indicated there is no resistance to their companies' AAP but they made comments similar to the following one made by a white upper level manager in Cou ins Manufacturing: "It doesn't meet resistance at any level. As the Black people push they will create their own resistance. It is entirely possible that there is more subconscious resistance now than there was ten years ago."

As one can clearly see from the responses of the managers, although there is a difference between the Black and white managers' views as to which level put up the most resistance, their reasons for selecting the different levels are quite similar. The most consistent theme throughout these responses is that as Blacks move up the occupational ladder and begin to compete with white middle and upper level managers the resistance at these levels will increase because Blacks will pose a new threat to their positions.[31]

G. Individual managers as an explanation for the difference in the Affirmative Action Programs of these companies

It has been shown that the major differences in the Affirmative Action Programs of these companies cannot be attributed to any specific external and/or internal pressures, thus the writer believes the differences in these programs can be attributed primarily to how the top management interprets and reacts to pressures to provide equal employment opportunities. As Quay said: "The specific policies of corporate management not only adapt to the social, economic, and political climate, but vary according to particular managerial desires, inclinations, and insights."[32]

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[31] See Appendix B, pp. 539-541, for the frequency distribution of all the reasons the managers selected the various levels of management for providing the most resistance to affirmative action efforts.

It became quite clear to this writer that Ace Public Utility has made substantial progress in hiring Blacks since 1968 because a young, senior level manager responded to pressures to provide Blacks with equal employment opportunities in a positive, progressive manner. When he was appointed Vice-President of Personnel, in 1969, he took aggressive steps to develop an elaborate, effective Affirmative Action Program which anticipated many of the more recent governmental regulations dealing with equal employment opportunities. His ability to get the support of the President and to develop a loyal, aggressive staff has been a major factor in the company's progress.

In contrast to the senior managers in Ace Public Utility, the Corporate Personnel Vice-President and top leadership of Triple C Bank have reacted in most cases in a very defensive, negative manner. At a seminar conducted by the writer, the Personnel Vice-President was very defensive about the negative views the Black managers in his company have about the company's employment policies. He questioned the validity of the number of managers who participated in the study and the selection procedure which was used. Another Vice-President in research pointed out to him that many of the Black managers the Corporate Personnel Vice-President participated in the study, and that a relatively large percentage of the company's Black managers were interviewed. He also noted that the company selected the managers through a random selection procedure.

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[32] William A. Quay, The Negro in the Chemical Industry (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 1.

In January 1973, the writer met with a group of the bank's personnel managers to discuss a survey of all the bank's employees. This "in house" survey found that the vast majority of their Black employees looked unfavorably on the company's employment policies towards Blacks. Their study also indicated that white employees of all levels believe Blacks are getting more than a fair break in employment opportunities. . Because the white managers in all levels of management at Triple C Bank believe that Blacks are already getting more than equal employment opportunities, they are inclined to react in a very defensive, negative manner toward external and/or internal pressures to make Black employment opportunities more equitable rather than in a positive, constructive manner.

Summary and Conclusions

All of the firms have written Affirmative Action Programs primarily because of governmental laws and regulations. Even though there has been considerable pressure on these firms to formulate strong AAPs, only Ace Public Utility has an elaborate AAP with specific goals and timetables. The remaining companies have not seriously committed themselves to undertake the very difficult task of formulating and implementing a strong, elaborate Affirmative Action Program. William Brown, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, stated the general position of most of the firms in this study when he said:

> Too much of both private industry and the public has been concerned not with carrying out the spirit of the law but rather with achieving minimum compliance. Some very ingenious minds, when told that discriminatory treatment was unlawful, devised some very subtle ways to continue excluding minorities and women from the better jobs. They created standards which treated everyone equally on the surface but which had the effect of disadvantaging and screening out certain groups.[33]

Although the firms realize the importance of having sensitive, objective recruiters and interviewers, none of them have developed procedures to assure that their recruiters and interviewers are sensitive and objective. All of the firms, at one time or another, have recruited at predominantly Black schools. There was no general agreement among the firms with regard to which recruiting procedures were the most rewarding.

In reference to training, only Ace Public Utility has set goals and timetables for the number of Blacks to be included in their training program. Overall, Blacks generally make up 2-3 percent of all the management trainees in the participating companies primarily because of existing racial attitudes.

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[33] William H. Brown, "The EEOC's Chairman Comments on the Persistance of Racism," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, January, 1962, p. 161.

None of the firms use psychological tests as an evaluating procedure for their managerial candidates or for managerial promotions and only four of the firms use achievement and aptitude tests as evaluating procedures for new management candidates and none of the companies use them as evaluating procedures for managerial promotions.

With regard to promotional procedures, none of the firms have developed special or effective procedures in order to insure that Blacks are not being discriminated against. The Black managers' promotions, as is the case with the white managers', are generally left up to their immediate superiors to determine which again puts the Blacks at a disadvantage because of prevailing racial attitudes among whites.

Finally, Ace Public Utility has set up an elaborate affirmative action structure to attempt to assure that the program is being complied with. The remaining firms generally leave assurance of compliance up to their line managers. Even though Ace Public Utility has an elaborate AAP structure, it has not assured, as the other companies have not, that people who are responsible for the implementation and compliance of the program are unbiased and committed to the formal position of the company regarding equal employment opportunities.

Plainly governmental pressures for over 30 years have been one of the prime movers in getting firms to practice equal employment opportunities for Blacks. Social pressures from civil rights groups and their white allies motivated governmental action and they have also had some impact when directed to specific companies. The riots of the 1960's were perhaps a major force in opening up employment opportunities for Blacks by the vast majority of the Black and white managers in this study. Finally, internal pressures from Black employees have had an impact on their firms' employment policies. Industry and type of clientele had no consistent effect, nor did location of major facilities.

However, what seems to be the most important determiners of the differences between the Affirmative Action Programs of the firms in this study are the companies' views of what constitutes a successful Affirmative Action Program, the problems they anticipated and believed occurred upon the implementation of their program, and the manner in which key personnel reacted to the various pressures placed on them to provide equal employment opportunities.

It was argued that Ace Public Utility is the most progressive of the eight firms because of a dynamic upper level manager who responded positively to various pressures to improve Black employment opportunities, while at the other extreme, in Triple C Bank there was no top level manager who interpreted these forces in a positive, progressive manner. Thus, one must agree with the Black managers in this study that the resistance to affirmative action is greatest at the top and not vice versa, as the white managers generally believe.

In short, the general overall view of this chapter indicates that, except in one case, the firms in this study either are not committed to providing real equal opportunities for Blacks or they do not realize that unless positive efforts are made to offset the effects of past discrimination, the formal abolition of present discrimination will be only of limited benefit. It is not sufficient just to reiterate one's commitment to the idea of equal employment opportunity--a strong, well developed plan must be formulated, carefully implemented, and closely audited by responsible, sensitive, objective people.

The late Whitney M. Young, Jr., former Executive Director of the National Urban League, has stated the case thusly:

> Neither the Negro nor the Urban League is asking for three hundred years of preferential treatment such as white citizens have had. We are asking for only a decade of dedicated special effort . . . . At this point when the scales of justice are so grossly unbalanced, it is impossible to balance them by simply applying equal weight.[34]

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[34] Quoted in Aunts Manufacturing Company's Affirmative Action Program Director's 1972 Annual Report.

CHAPTER IV

THE PICTURE OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THE PARTICIPATING FIRMS

Introduction

This chapter presents a general picture and comparison of Black representation in managerial ranks in the participating firms, and in the general corporate world. It compares the two. In addition, it will include a short discussion about Black representation in the managerial ranks of federal government to gauge the extent to which the federal government is following its own laws regarding equal employment opportunities.

This chapter is primarily descriptive. Most of the evidence to support any assumptions made in this chapter will be reported in Chapters V and VI which explain the patterns put forth in this chapter.

Blacks in Governmental Service

For thirty years the government has been attempting to enforce equal employment opportunities, but has the government been totally committed to these efforts? One manner in which one might test the sincerity of the government is to look at the positions of Blacks in governmental service.

Samuel Krislov noted that although Blacks make up about 12 percent of all governmental employees, they have been relegated, until the past few years, to the lowest jobs in the managerial and non-managerial ranks. He also noted that those few Blacks who have made it to higher status jobs are generally in research or staff positions directly related to interracial relations rather than in decision-making administrative and supervisory positions. Although progress is being made, the progress is very slow:

> . . . the Negro is still making slow progress in the higher decision-making echelons of the bureaucracy. The improvements that have occurred have hardly placed Negroes on a par with white bureaucrats in terms of distribution in positions of authority. Negroes still constitute only a little over one percent of all those occupying a GS 12 through 18 position, and only 3.4 percent of those at the 9 through 11 level. They still constitute 19 percent of all wage board employees and 32 percent of those who receive less than $5,000 under other pay plans.[1]

David H. Rosenbloom writing on the same lines noted:

> Federal EEO began to develop three decades ago, but progress--by almost any measure--has been very slow. Today, there is a highly significant passive under-representation of women and members of minority groups in the upper levels of the bureaucracy. Thus, as of November 30, 1969, 10.7 percent of all employees under the general schedule were black, but 21.6 percent of these were in the lowest four grades and only 1.0 percent of all the employees in the highest three grades were black.[2]

Krislov's and Rosenbloom's positions were supported by Clifford Alexander, former Chairman of the Equal Employment

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[1] Samuel Krislov, The Negro in Federal Employment (Minneapolis, 1967), pp. 90-91.

[2] David H. Rosenbloom, "Equal Employment Opportunity: Another Strategy," Personnel Administration Public Personnel Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, July-August, 1972, p. 38.

Opportunity Commission, who wrote in 1971 that although the government has made "loud noises" about doing away with discrimination in its employment ranks, it has not backed up its "loud noises" with concrete action. He noted that the Department of Defense has been one of the government departments making the most "noises," but has not translated the"noises" into concrete action. In his own words:

> I looked up the statistics for the Department of Defense and the Department of the Army after they made those noises. I looked at the supergrade category, that is, those who make over $25,000 in the U. S. government, the G-16's, G-17's and G-18's. In the Department of the Army there are 362 of them, and there isn't a single black amongst them. In the Department of Defense there are in the supergrades, 1,093 men. Of that number, three are black, far less than 1.3 percent.[3]

On June 25, 1972, Ralph Nader issued a report prepared by the non-profit Public Interest Research Group which claimed that the Civil Service Commission has done very little to improve the lot of 2.5 million Blacks, Chicanos, and women in governmental service. The report charged that most of the Commission's successes are in the area of public relations and gimmickry rather than in the area of concrete significant change. Some of the major points of the report follow:

> The commission through unwarranted delays has discouraged low-ranking minority employees in the federal hierarchy from using a complaining system to claim job discrimination.

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[3] Clifford Alexander, "Jobs, the Heart of the Problem," MBA, Vol. V, No. 5, 1971, p. 7.

> The commission has permitted the Pentagon to virtually ignore President Nixon's order that the government take the lead in improving levels of minority employment.
>
> Though the commission appoints a small number of minority members to "window-dressing" jobs with high rank, the real power within the agency in Washington and in regional offices remains with whites.
>
> When complaints of discrimination are found and acted on supervisors are often given merely a slap-on-the-wrist reprimand.
>
> Statistic reports to Congress and the Civil Rights Commission often conceal what's really happening. Statistics on minority employment, for example, may show dramatic improvement, but they are based upon the almost zero increases of previous years.[4]

Although the government has not made great progress in the employment of Black managers, Wilensky and Lebeaux have correctly noted that most of the gains that Blacks have made in managerial and professional occupations in the past two decades have been in the federal government as opposed to the corporate world.[5] Put another way, even though governmental progress in the employment of Black managers is far from being exemplary, when compared to the corporate world, the government's record is impressive. For example, while the government has had Black managers for many years, it will be seen that five of the eight firms in this study hired or promoted their first Black into a management position in the early 1960's and none of them had Black managers before 1955.

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[4] Weldom M. Brewer, Behind the Promises: Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government (Washington, D. C., 1972).

[5] Wilensky and Lebeaux, p. xxxvi.

In addition, in this study, only approximately .4 percent of the middle level managers are Black, compared to approximately 2.4 percent of those in the federal government. In 1971 there was a 12.5 percent (1,773) increase in the number of Blacks and minorities in the higher paying government jobs, i.e., salaries between $15,000 and $40,000.

Blacks in the Participating Firms and in Industry in General

Since the federal government has not followed carefully the law of the land regarding equal employment opportunities for all, it is not surprising that the firms in this study and industries in general have done the same.

The firms which participated in this study are far behind the government in their employment of Blacks, but most are quite representative of their particular industry. All the firms are quite similar in the fact that they have claimed they have always been equal opportunity employers.

Even though all of the participating firms have been subjected to laws prohibiting racial discrimination, even though all of the firms have federal contracts which subject them to governmental financial constraints, even though the banks and the two public utilities are governmentally regulated, and even though all of the firms claim to have always been equal opportunity employers and were members of Plans for Progress and are presently members of the National Alliance of Businessmen, none of them could substantiate their long time equal employment policies. In fact, the data indicate that only in the past decade have they made any worthwhile efforts to practice what they preach. Furthermore, as was noted in Chapter III, it has only been in the last three years that some of these firms have undertaken any meaningful action. Table 1 gives the date each company hired its first Black for a non-managerial position and the date each company hired or promoted its first Black into management ranks.

TABLE 1

DATES WHEN FIRST BLACKS WERE EMPLOYED

Companies	Black Managers	Black Workers
Ace Public Utility	1955	1935
Deuce Public Utility	1957	1945
Triple C Bank	1958	1952
Ajax Manufacturing	1961	1952
Cousins Manufacturing	1963	1942
Aunts Manufacturing	1963	1947
Triple A Bank	1963	1956
Century Manufacturing	1964	1963

In 1955 Blacks represented 0 percent of the managerial ranks in these eight firms; in 1967, twelve years later, they represented .7 percent; and in 1971 1.9 percent. Table 2 shows the percentage the companies' total Black managerial employment increased from 1967 to 1971 and it also shows the increase in the total managerial work force during the same period.

Table 2 also shows that although the overall growth of the companies' managerial work forces between 1967 and 1971 has varied from a low of 8 percent for Aunts Manufacturing to a high of 49 percent for Triple A Bank, all of the companies have increased their Black managerial forces between 100 and over 300 percent during the same period. These increases might seem to be phenomenal; however, it should be remembered that the companies had very few Black managers in 1967. Thus, even in 1971 after these phenomenal percentage increases occurred, Blacks still represent only approximately 1.9 percent of the managerial forces of the eight firms.

Six of the eight companies described their growth as rapid and their increase in employment as substantial since 1960; therefore, if the firms had begun to practice equal employment over the past twelves years, the numbers of Black managers should be much greater. Thus, even in a brisk labor market when increasing the Black managerial work force would create less opposition by the white employees, Blacks will not be provided with more opportunities unless the firms are committed to equal employment opportunities. In short, expanding labor markets and the increase in the employment of Blacks, especially in managerial positions, do not go hand-in-hand.

The small number of Black managers in these firms is even less excusable because, except for Aunts Manufacturing which has 50 percent of its plants located in areas where Blacks make up less than 1 percent of the population, the remaining firms are

TABLE 2

INCREASE IN TOTAL MANAGEMENT AND BLACK MANAGEMENT FROM 1967-1971

Companies	Increase in Total Managerial Work Force (1967-1971)	Percent Increase in Total Managerial Work Force (1967-1971)	Black Managers (1967) (#)	Black Managers (1967) (%)	Black Managers (1971) (#)	Black Managers (1971) (%)	Percent Increase of Black Managers (1967-1971)
Ajax Manufacturing	60-85	42%	1	1.7	3	3.5	200%
Ace Public Utility	19666-21434 9%	9	169	.9	508	2.4	201
Cousins Manufacturing	1403-1613 14%	14	8	.6	35	2.2	338
Century Manufacturing	New Function	New Function	1	.6*	2	1.6	100
Aunts Manufacturing	4444-4790 8%	8	33	.7	76	1.5	130
Triple C Bank	6135-7230 17%	17	25	.4	111	1.4	304
Triple A Bank	2171-3238 49%	49	14	.6	47	1.4	236
Deuce Public Utility	3537-4273 21%	21	10	.3	37	.9	270

*Figure is for 1968.

located primarily in the Los Angeles area which has a Black population of 17 percent and the San Francisco Bay area which has a Black population of 12 percent. Furthermore, these firms are located in the state which leads all other states in the number of Black students enrolled in college--72,000 or approximately 10 percent of all Black college students are attending one of the best college and university systems in the nation.

These firms are quite representative of their industries and the corporate world in general. For example, in 1966, when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission began to require statistics on the number of employees for each ethnic group from firms with 100 or more employees, the banking industry reported that out of the 98,894 managers, officials, and professionals, only 426 were Black. Blacks constituted approximately .4 percent of the banks' managerial forces. This is quite similar to the banks in this study.[6]

With regard to the gas and electric industry, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission wrote in their 1967 Annual Report:

> Based on a review of the EEO-1 data for 1966 and 1967, reported by nineteen national industries employing half a million or more workers, the utilities industry must claim the questionable distinction of being the leader in exclusion of Black workers. In 1966 in a Northern metropolitan

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[6] Armand J. Thieblot, Jr., The Negro in the Banking Industry (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 27.

> area, for example, Black people made up 15.8 percent of the employees in all industries reporting but only 1.4 percent in reporting utilities. Overall, Blacks held only 3.7 percent of all jobs in the industry; one in every two utilities establishments--electric, gas and combination companies--employed no Black people in any job whatever. And to an even greater extent than most other industries EEOC has examined, those Blacks who are employed in the utilities industry are concentrated in the lower-paying jobs: 20 percent are service workers, 25 percent are laborers and 25 percent operatives. At the upper strata of employment, they represent only 0.6 percent of sales workers, 1.4 percent of professionals, and 0.2 percent of all officials and managers; among all Negroes employed, only one in 200 is in a managerial position.[7]

Again this is quite similar to the gas and electric utility in this study.

In 1969 a U. S. Labor Department report indicated that there were 118,000 Black salaried executives out of a Black working force of 8,169,000. In other words, Black salaried executives represented 1.4 percent of the employed Black work force. White salaried executives, on the other hand, accounted for 8 percent of the white labor force. Calculated another way, Blacks make up only 2.2 percent of all salaried executives while they constitute 10.7 percent of the entire working population.[8]

From the previous data it is clear that the firms in this study are quite similar to the corporate world.

Except for Cousins Manufacturing, the writer was able to obtain data on the length of service of all the Black managers in the companies. Many Black managers, especially in Ace Public

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[7] Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's 3rd Annual Report, 1967, p. 26.

[8] U. S. Department of Labor, "Employment and Earnings," Vol. 16, No. 6, December, 1969, p. 23.

Utility and Aunts Manufacturing, did not start out as managers when they were employed by these firms but were promoted from non-managerial to managerial positions; therefore, their length of service must be taken into consideration when noting the dates the companies first hired Black managers. These data give clear indications of when the companies began to make a little more than token efforts in employing Blacks into management positions. Table 3 shows the length of service of all the Black managers in these companies.

TABLE 3

LENGTH OF SERVICE OF ALL THE BLACK MANAGERS IN THE COMPANIES

Companies	Number of Black Managers	Years in Service* Mean Year(s)	Median Year(s)	Mode Year(s)	Range Year(s)
Ace Public Utility	508	13	11	1 (54)	1-36
Triple C Bank	114	7	4	2 (21)	1-20
Aunts Manufacturing	76	7	5	4 (12)	1-25
Ajax Manufacturing	3	7	6	NONE	6-12
Century Manufacturing	2	7	NONE	NONE	6-7
Deuce Public Utility	37	4	3	2 (11)	1-20
Triple A Bank	47	3	2	1 (11)	1-8
Cousins Manufacturing**	14	3	3	3 (6)	1-10

*All figures are rounded to the nearest year.

**Data is only for the managers who participated in this study.

With regard to only those managers participating in this study 45 percent of the Black managers have four or less years of service with their companies, compared to 9 percent of the white managers. In addition, 83 percent of the Black managers, compared to only 26 percent of the white managers, have ten years or less of service.

When managerial level was used as the control variable, it was found that 71 percent of the Blacks in middle management positions were with their firms less than eight years and 38 percent were with their firms less than four years. This compares with 15 percent white middle managers with less than eight years and only 6 percent with less than four years of service.[9]

Even though many Black managers have not been with their firms a long period of time, 72 percent of them, compared to 52 percent of the white managers, have held jobs in other firms which were directly related to their obtaining jobs with their present firms. Furthermore, the Black managers were employed in previous jobs much longer than the white managers. This is especially true of the Black middle level managers.

Table 4 shows the total number of years of relevant work experience of the Black and white managers by managerial level.

The fact that Blacks have a great deal of experience relevant to their present job in other institutions is supported by their responses to the following questions:

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[9] See Appendix B, pp. 541-542, for the frequency distribution of the participating managers' length of service with their present companies.

TABLE 4

TOTAL YEARS OF RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Years	Black Managers		White Managers		
	Lower (N=84)	Middle (N=34)	Lower (N=47)	Middle (N=79)	Upper (N=30)
1-4	26 %	3 %	15 %	3 %	0 %
5-8	29	18	19	6	0
9-12	21	18	13	14	0
13-16	13	17	13	19	10
17-20	6	15	11	19	10
21-24	4	24	9	14	30
Over 24	1	6	21	25	50
Total*	100	102	101	100	100

*Some percents are over 100 because of rounding errors.

Which, if any, of the following factors helped you attain your present position? Table 5 shows the managers' responses.

Forty-five percent of the white managers, compared to 19 percent of the Black managers, believe experience in their companies was the only factor which was helpful in obtaining their present positions. In addition, almost as many Blacks believe their educational achievement was at least one of the factors helpful in obtaining their present positions as believe experience in their companies was helpful.

TABLE 5

FACTORS WHICH HELPED MANAGERS ATTAIN THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS

Factors	Black Managers (N=115)	White Managers (N=156)
Experience within the Company	60 %	97 %
Experience in another Company	16	21
Experience in the Government	7	3
Experience in the Military	21	17
Experience in Social Agencies	6	3
Experience in the Academic World	55	33
Initiative in Organizing the Company	0	2
Other	26	10
Being Black (Previously listed under "Other")	9	0
Total*	200	186

*The total percentages are over 100 because the managers could select more than one factor.

Nine percent of the Black managers believe being Black helped them attain their present positions; four of the ten are middle level managers. As one Black middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility said, "The company came looking for me. I had the skills they needed, but being Black certainly helped." A Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank said, "I am a Black banker because of the Watts riots. They need Blacks to put in branches in Black communities." And a Black manager from Ajax Manufacturing said, "I have this position only because I helped lead a protest movement which demanded better treatment of Black employees and more Black managers. I didn't want it, but they gave it to me to try to shut me up. Being Black helped."

With specific regard to Black and white middle level managers, only 12 percent of the Black managers, compared to 47 percent of the white managers, believe experience in their companies was the only factor which helped them achieve their present positions. Eighty-eight percent of the Black middle level managers believe that experience in one or a combination of the following positions attributed to their achieving their present positions: social agencies, government service, military service, professional positions in academia. Finally, seven of the thirty-four Black managers believe their experience in other companies was helpful. These data suggest that many of the Black middle level managers have been hired in at middle level positions. A possible explanation for this is that the corporate world is beginning to discover that there are many capable, qualified Black managers who have been working in governmental social agencies, academic institutions, public organizations, and/or their own businesses who are potential management candidates for their firms. Many firms have used these sources to seek white managers for many years, but they have been reluctant to seek Black managers from the same sources because of the firms' general lack of desire to have Black managers.

Thus far the hiring aspects of Black managers in white businesses has been concentrated on. The following paragraphs and data will deal primarily with the promotional aspects--what types of positions the Black managers hold, at what levels, and at what salaries.

While most white businesses are slowly increasing their numbers of Blacks in lower management positions, there are still very few Blacks at the middle levels of management. Only 19 or 2.2 percent of all Black managers who represent only 1.9 percent of all the managers in the participating firms are considered middle level managers and a slightly higher percent are considered lower middle level managers. Put another way, only approximately .4 percent of all middle management positions are filled by Blacks. Remember the thirty-four Black middle level managers in this study represent approximately 80 percent of all the Black middle level managers in these firms. None of the companies have Blacks in the upper levels of management and none of them have Blacks on their Board of Directors.

The companies in our study seem not to be atypical of white businesses in general. Clifford Alexander wrote in 1971:

> Now, the progress I've talked about that's been made by some New York firms in the past years relates to just a certain category of white-collar jobs. It is often the entry level and the lower middle level white-collar position. The board rooms still are pretty lily white. In the recent survey of the fifty leading corporations by the Race Relations Center, it was found that of 660 members of the board, only four were Black. It also found that the Poor's index of leading executives--which includes those who

> make the long bread in these companies--listed 2,522 executives from fifty corporations. Of those 2,522, not a single one was Black. Again, the talk far outstripped the performance.[10]

In 1969, Raphael F. Nevins and Andrew Merrymen wrote:

> One recent study shows hat there are currently fewer than thirty Black corporate executives earning more than $30,000 per year. Due to what is known as "the middle management barrier," most Blacks in corporations never rise above the lower management level.[11]

In 1972, Charles L. Fields and Evelyn S. Freeman wrote:

> Our 1969 article in The MBA carried statistical results from our 1968 survey of 86 Black MBA's. That group had an average age of 29 years, and only eight percent earned a salary in excess of $11,000. Our new sample group of 36 Black MBA's is the result of data gathered from 1970-71. The average Black MBA in this study is male, 28 and one-half, married, and has an income of $14,420. He graduated from a traditionally white business school in the East and has four and one-half years of business experience. . . .
>
> Looking at our sample group, 83.4 percent graduated from the top business schools in the country. According to a study by MBA Enterprises, Inc. (cited in the October, 1971 issue of The MBA), starting salaries for 1971 graduates from the top schools were in the range of $14,000 to $14,500. Thus, these Black MBA's with an average of four and one-half years of business experience are earning approximately the same as new MBA graduates without significant prior business experience.
>
> If one assumes that the average MBA starting annual salary in 1967 was $11,400 and that the MBA received an average annual salary increment of 10 percent, in 1971 he would have earned $16,704 with four years of experience. Our

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[10] Alexander, p. 7.

[11] Raphael F. Nevins and Andrew Merrymen, "The Search for Black Management, MBA, Vol. III, No. 7, 1969, p. 9.

> sample group of Black MBA's with an average of four and one-half years of experience has a mean income of $14,420, which reflects a slower career growth pattern and, thus, less income. This $2,000 (+) difference leads us to hypothesize that the Black MBA is significantly behind his white counterparts. While white and Black MBA's may receive similar entry-level salaries, whites seem to be moving ahead farther and faster. Since promotions by title carry a more substantial salary increase than one would receive from annual salary increments in the same position, it is probable that limited upward mobility for Blacks accounts for the difference.[12]

They found similar discrepancy between Black and white engineers and lawyers who participated in their study.

Of the 819 Black managers in the eight participating firms in this study, there are only two Black managers who earn over $25,000. Only three earn between $22,000 and $23,999.

In the next chapter the regression analysis will show that the Black managers with similar relevant work experience and educational achievement make less money than their white counterparts. This salary difference increases as the length of service increases which indicates that racial discrimination was greater in the past than in the present.

The above facts plus the fact that there are few Blacks in the corporate world above lower level positions leads many Blacks to believe that Blacks have little chance to advance above lower level management positions. Seventy percent of the Black managers in this study agree or strongly agree that most corporations have just shifted the point at which they begin to apply discriminatory practices against their Black managers. They will hire a Black but will not allow him/her to realize his/her full potential.[13]

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[12] Charles L. Fields and Evelyn S. Freeman, "Black Professionals: The Gap Is Not Closing," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1972, p. 78.

Some of the representative reasons why the Black managers agree that the point of discrimination has just shifted are as follows.

A Black lower level manager from Triple A Bank: "My evidence is the number of Blacks with college degrees who are working in the post office. I also believe that many Blacks work in 'show-front' jobs."

A middle level Black manager from the same company: "Blacks are not allowed to realize their full potential because they are hired primarily to deal with Black employees and customers; therefore, they are excluded from general company activities--thus promotions."

This manager's position was supported by a lower level Black manager from Triple C Bank: "Blacks are never really promoted on the basis of strict ability and work experience--they are moved up because they are Black and how it will look to the public."

A middle level Black manager from Aunts Manufacturing described his own personal experience as evidence from strongly agreeing that Blacks are not allowed to realize their full potential: "I have a B.S. and I am getting an MBA. I went to a good school and I got good grades. I've applied for many management positions that I'm qualified for and I'm told that I'm doing more for the company where I am so they won't promote me."

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[13] See Appendix B, pp. 543-545, for the frequency distribution of the managers' responses and a detailed breakdown of the managers' reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the questions.

Finally, a Black female who is involved in Ace Public Utility's AAP said that being in her position it does not seem like the company has just shifted its point of discrimination. However, in her talks with other Black managers many seemed very frustrated; therefore, she agreed with the statement.

Not only has the advancement of Blacks been limited in the business hierarchy, but those who have advanced to a relatively high level (for Blacks) are normally put into such positions which are related to the Black "sphere" such as special markets, industrial relations, AAP Director, urban affairs, community relations, and personnel. W. Kirk Jackson, Director of Placement and Development at Atlanta University, wrote:

> The only dent in this wall of discrimination was industry's effort to "capture" the Negro market with the institution of "special markets," featuring a Negro athlete sponsoring a product after belting a home run.[14]

Even those Blacks who are not assigned to positions in the Black "Sphere" but to technical and professional areas are normally not put in jobs which are in the direct line of progression for an executive or administrative position. Walter Fogel addressed himself to this point in the following manner:

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[14] W. Kirk Jackson, "Placement Director," MBA, Vol. III, No. 7, 1969, p. 6.

> Male Negro workers have been employed in the office of a large manufacturing plant, but outside of the line of progression that leads to supervisory or office manager positions. A large electronics company employed a number of Negro engineers who were involved in technical functions rather than administrative assignments that lead to an executive position. In a retail food chain, Negro women have been hired into cashiers' jobs but not into jobs that might lead to a section managership.[15]

Quay supported Fogel when he wrote:

> Negroes are almost nonexistent in this critical occupational category, which includes all levels of industrial management from first-line supervision to the very top executive positions and professionals. Most Negroes in this grouping are at the first level of supervision, working as plant foremen in charge of racially mixed work crews, but probably not directing all-white units.
>
> The highest managerial levels achieved by Negro workers are usually in employee relations and scientific research departments. . . . There is not one Negro in the top management of any major chemical firm known to the author.[16]

This study supports both of these propositions. The two highest ranking Blacks in the participating firms are Vice-Presidents in the area of Public Relations and Urban Affairs who were hired in 1964 and 1971 in Triple C Bank. Both of these individuals had extremely long, distinguished careers in the federal government. In addition, thirteen of the remaining seventeen middle level managers either hold positions in Urban Affairs and Personnel or positions in which their work is directly related to the Black market, i.e., branch manager in a Black area or district supervisors in a Black area. The remaining four middle level managers hold professional (technical) positions which are not administrative in nature.

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[15] Walter Fogel, Labor Market Obstacles to Minority Job Gains, Institute of Industrial Relations, Reprint No. 187 (Los Angeles, 1968), p. 61.

[16] William H. Quay, The Negro in the Chemistry Industry (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 36.

An excellent case illustrating what happens to Blacks in business was given by Charles L. Fields and Evelyn S. Freeman.

> . . . A young Black MBA graduate from a top-rated business school accepted employment in marketing with a leading trade convention association organization. He entered the department along with two white MBA's with similar educational backgrounds; none of the three had significant prior business experience. Shortly after their initial company orientation, the white MBA's were placed on assignments where they interfaced with clients and had the authority to cement deals involving policy decisions and money allocations. They were also sent to major professional association meetings with opportunities for additional self-development. The Black MBA was utilized primarily with Urban League, NAACP, and other minority-oriented groups. After a period of time, the Black sought involvement with the major marketing activities of the organization outside of a Black orientation. He found that his white counterparts began to assume that he was not getting getter developmental opportunities because he lacked real ability.
>
> When approached with this desire, the manager expressed his attitude that as the first Black hired, it was important for him to initially establish acceptance by just being seen around. Underlying his statements was the fear that business would be lost if clients had to deal with a Black.
>
> The department manager would not concede that he was inhibiting the Black's chances for advancement by not giving him the same kind of exposure that whites enjoyed. Now the Black MBA is discouraged and is seeking another position where he can maximize his abilities and be offered the same kinds of opportunities that whites are given. Unfortunately, this case

> is typical. Blacks and whites enter as equals, but whites get the experience needed for promotions, while Blacks do not.[17]

A young Black manager's plight in Triple C Bank has similar roots. He became a branch manager of a new branch in a Black community established as a result of riots in three and one-half years--an extremely rapid advancement. After being there for two and one-half years at a salary much lower than his white counterparts, after having many of his decisions reversed, after discovering that white managers could make exceptions while he could not, after having believed he had done his job and should have been promoted, and after wanting to become a full banker rather than just a Black banker, he left his form for another one to become a district manager for six branch banks at a salary 40 percent higher than the one he was receiving. His main complaint about his first job position was not only the low salary and the difficulty in getting his decisions approved, but also the fact that he believed he would never be a banker for all customers but only a limited Black banker for Black customers. He realized there was a need to have Black bankers in the Black community; however, he believed there should be a sufficient number of Black bankers who could be rotated to branches in the Black community so that the bankers would not be restricted in their growth. In the coming chapters numerous statements by the Black managers support the stories of this Black banker and the Black MBA.

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[17] Fields and Freeman, p. 78.

That Black managers do not have important decision-making positions is supported by the fact that only 24 percent of the Black middle level managers, compared to 58 percent of the white middle level managers, control a budget. With regard to the lower level managers, 10 percent of the Black managers and 23 percent of the white managers controlled a budget.

Not only did few Blacks believe they have control over a budget, but 64 percent of the Black managers have only five or fewer subordinates, compared to 31 percent of the white managers. When managerial level is used as the control variable, it was found that 24 percent of the Black middle level managers had no subordinates, compared to 14 percent of the white middle level managers. Double the percentage of Black lower level managers had no subordinates, compared to the white lower level managers--34 percent to 17 percent.[18]

The virtually non-existent decision-making positions of Blacks more strikingly at middle management are also substantiated by the following data:

Only 59 percent of the Black middle level managers, compared to 25 percent of the white middle level managers, believe they have little or no influence over the hiring and promoting policies of their departments and/or divisions. There is little difference between the Black and white lower level managers--31 percent of the Black and 36 percent white, respectively.[19]

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[18] See Appendix B, p. 543, for the frequency distribution of the number of subordinates the Black and white managers have.

Anticipating the relative powerless positions of the Black managers, they were asked the question: Do you have the same power and authority as the white managers who held your position before you?

In response to the question, 32 percent of the Black managers, approximately equal percentages from lower and middle management, said they do not believe they have the same power and authority as the white managers who held their positions before them. In addition, ten of the Black managers said they do not hold positions that were previously occupied by white managers; therefore, they responded affirmatively. More Blacks in Personnel--53 percent--than any of the other managers' areas of work answered this question negatively. In fact, more than a majority of the Black managers in Personnel believe they have little or no influence over their companies' and departments'/divisions' employment policies.

The two primary reasons the Black managers believe they do not have the same power and authority as the white managers are: (1) they must prove themselves before they are given the same power and authority, whereas the white managers are given them immediately; and (2) their work is always being checked on and they are not given the complete power, authority, and latitude that the white managers are given.[20]

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[19] See Appendix B, p. 545, for the frequency distribution of the managers' responses with regard to employment influence.

Considering the fact that most Blacks are in low level, non-supervisory positions with little authority and believe Blacks are limited to low level positions, it is not surprising that three out of four believe Blacks are just being showcased. Twenty-four percent of the managers believe Blacks are being showcased because they have done what their firms have asked them to, such as attend meetings, dinners and conferences, give speeches, and have their pictures taken. Another 21 percent said their companies need to improve their images with the public so they encourage Blacks to showcase. Another 16 percent said they know of Blacks in their firms who have performed public relations activities but they have not done so themselves. And 13 percent said they have been asked to perform certain functions, but they have refused.[21]

While there is a high percentage of Black managers in all of the various job classifications who agree that Blacks are used for showcasing purposes by their firms, the Black managers in Personnel and Finance are more likely to agree that this occurs than those in administrative, supervisory, and scientific areas. For example, 95 percent of the Black managers working in banks as loan and finance officers and 82 percent in Personnel, compared to 63 percent in administration and 67 percent in supervisory positions, believe Blacks are used for showcasing purposes. In short, generally the Black managers who are in decision-making positions supervising people are less likely to believe that Blacks are being used for showcasing purposes than those in Personnel and visible non-supervisory positions such as loan officers in banks.

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[20] See Appendix B, pp. 545-546, for the reasons the managers do not believe they have the same power and authority as white managers who held their job before them.

[21] See Appendix B, pp. 546-548, for the managers' reasons for agreeing or disagreeing that Blacks are being showcased.

A Black middle level manager from Ace Public Utility said that he believes all managerial jobs are partly public relations functions and a Black manager can perform these functions better in the Black communities.

One Black female lower level manager from the same company believes that Black managers are really powerless, but that the public is given the impression that they are not: "Firms attempt to give the public a false impression. They have a few Black managers so they use them for many jobs. The Black managers might not have the power to do anything, but the firm attempts to convey the image that they have all kinds of power."

A Black middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility indicated that his company tries to make him attend all types of functions; however, he said he only attends functions in which he is allowed to talk about the true situation of Blacks in his firm and he will not attend those in which he is supposed to put forth the firm's point of view.

Because every time he turns around there is someone with a camera in his laboratory taking pictures of him to publicize the "progress" Blacks are supposedly making in his firm, a Black manager from Aunts Manufacturing strongly agreed with this statement.

Summary and Conclusions

The present situation of Black managers in white corporations is not very hopeful. After thirty years of federal and executive orders, after ten years of Plans for Progress, after seven years of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and after many years of preaching by the corporate world and these particular firms about their commitment to equal employment opportunities, Black managers represent only 1.9 percent of the managers in the participating firms. It has only been in the past four years that the corporate world in general and specifically the firms which participated in this study have made more than token efforts to hire and promote Blacks into management positions and this was done under increasing pressure from the federal government, civil rights groups, and the riots of the 1960's. The few Black managers who are employed by these firms are generally in low level management positions, generally related to the Black "sphere" and have little, if any, decision-making power.

CHAPTER V

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION OF BLACK MANAGERS IN WHITE CORPORATIONS

Introduction

Chapter IV showed that the few Blacks in managerial positions are primarily in lower level positions normally associated with the Black consumer market or Black employees. This chapter reports how the participating managers explain this situation in their firms and in the corporate world in general.

This chapter is divided into six major sections. The first section analyzes managers' opinions about the fairness of their companies' employment policies toward all employees, regardless of race. The second summarizes their explanations for the situation of Black managers in the corporate world in general and in their firms. The next three discuss these explanations in detail. The managers' explanations can be categorized into three propositions: (1) The cultural proposition used almost exclusively by the white managers, (2) the qualification proposition used much more frequently by the white managers than the Black managers, and (3) the discriminatory proposition used more frequently by the Black managers than the white managers. The final section compares the managers' views of the opportunities available to Blacks in the corporate world in general and in their firms.

The Managers' Views of the Companies' General Employment Policies: Introduction

The three questions discussed in this section were designed to solicit the managers' views of their companies' employment policies as they relate to all employees, not their companies' employment policies toward only Blacks. This was done to see if the Black and white managers have similar or different complaints about their companies' employment policies which are not necessarily, but could be, related to race.

A. Agreement with hiring and promoting policies

When the managers were asked: Are you in agreement with the hiring and promoting policies of this company?, there was a vast difference between Black and white managers' responses. Thirty-seven percent of the Black managers and 82 percent of the white managers responded affirmatively.

Table 1 lists the reasons the managers agree with their companies' hiring and promoting policies.

The primary reason the Black managers disagree with their companies' hiring and promoting policies is that they believe they are discriminatory--or, if the policies are fair, the individuals responsible for implementing them are not committed to providing Blacks equal employment opportunities. Only one white manager disagrees with his company's policies because of racial discrimination.

Politics (people hired or promoted not on their ability and merit but on personal contacts and influence) was almost as

TABLE 1

THE REASONS THE MANAGERS AGREE WITH THEIR COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Reasons	Black Managers (N=42)	White Managers (N=128)
Policies Are Fair	41 %	84 %
Agrees With AAP	29	10
Respondent's Experiences, i.e., He/She Has Been Treated Fairly	12	0
Agrees With Affirmative Action For Women	10	2
Agrees with Policies but They Need Better Implementation	7	2
Agrees with Policies in General but Does not Agree with AAP	0	2
Other	14	5
Total*	103	105

*Total percentages are over 100 because several managers gave more than one reason and also because of rounding errors.

important as racial discrimination in explaining the Black managers' disagreement with their companies' employment policies--28 percent. This was five times the number of white managers who gave politics as an explanation. Here's how a Black lower level manager in Triple C Bank described what he meant by politics: "Individuals are hired and promoted on the basis of who the individuals know rather than on their abilities." A Black lower level manager in Ace Public Utility said that his company "does not always put the right man in the right place . . . you have to have influence regardless of whether you can do the job or not."[1]

Another area in which there was substantial difference in view between the Black and white managers is the role seniority should play in employment decisions. In general, the Black managers want to de-emphasize the seniority system and the white managers want to emphasize it.[2]

Table 2 lists the reasons given by the managers for their disagreement with their companies' hiring and promoting policies.

B. Unwritten employment policies

Because an extremely high percentage of white managers agree with the fairness of their companies' employment policies, it would be expected that an extremely high percentage would not believe there are any unwritten employment policies which realistically affect their companies' employment decisions. But this is not the case. When the managers were asked the open-ended question: In general, what are some important policies which are not written into the formal company employment policies, i.e., practices which may not be written or discussed but that realistically affect decisions?, only half of the white managers and one-fourth of the

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[1] The second most frequent advice Black managers would give to other Black managers entering their firms is to be cautious and aware of corporate politics. This lends additional support to the view that many Black managers believe politics plays a crucial role in their companies' employment policies. See Appendix B, pp. 548-549, for the frequency distribution of the advice Black managers would give to other Blacks entering their firms.

[2] As will be seen later race, not age, accounts for this difference.

TABLE 2

THE REASONS THE MANAGERS DISAGREE WITH THEIR COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Reasons	Black Managers (N=72)	White Managers (N=28)
Discrimination Against Blacks	34 %	4 %
Politics	28	14
Policies Not Carried Out	13	11
Seniority System Should Be De-emphasized	13	4
Agrees With Hiring Policies But Not With Promoting Policies	7	4
Discrimination Against Women	7	0
Does Not Like Testing System	6	4
Seniority System Should Be Emphasized	6	14
Disagrees With Selection and Evaluation Procedures	3	18
Disagrees With Affirmative Action Program	3	25
Other	3	14
Total*	122	112

*Total percentages are over 100 because several managers gave more than one reason and also because of rounding errors.

Black managers said there are none. Table 3 shows their responses.

The most important unwritten policies, as seen by both the Black (42 percent) and white (21 percent) managers, are in the area of conformity in dress, physical appearance and attitude.[3]

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[3] The Black managers' awareness of the pressures to conform

TABLE 3

UNWRITTEN EMPLOYMENT POLICIES WHICH REALISTICALLY AFFECT DECISIONS

Unwritten Policies	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
None	25 %	50 %
Discrimination	25	2
Conformity	24	8
Politics	21	10
Informal Appearance	9	12
Individual Biases	7	6
Sex Favoritism For Males	7	1
Blacks Must Not Be Militant	7	0
Affirmative Action Program	3	7
Careful Placement Of Blacks	3	2
Sex Favoritism For Females	1	3
Other	12	24
Total*	144	125

*The total percentages are over 100 because the managers could give as many unwritten policies as they believed existed.

A white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing made these comments: "Some of the unwritten practices are standards

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is illustrated in the advice they would give to Black managers entering their firm. The most frequent advice they would give is to be themselves and do not conform to the general corporate view that the only good Black managers are the "non-militant" "yes" nigger.

of dress and personal appearance. Also political viewpoints--individuals must not be too militant or want to change capitalism. There is not enough room for divergent opinions, so if someone powerful likes something the others will agree."

A young, Black female manager from the same company said, with regard to the type of attitudes Blacks must present: "Race and sex are unwritten employment policies. Females can't reach high positions and the same is true for Blacks until they start recruiting more. Blacks can't be too militant or aggressive."

An informal dress code and discrimination against women are seen as unwritten employment policies by a white lower level manager from Ace Public Utility: "Discrimination in the past against women. It was not apparent and to many people it was not an obvious policy because of their conditioning. Realistically they do discriminate against women. There is also an informal dress code. Someone who dresses rather bizarrely indicates a lack of maturity and it would be an obstacle to their promotion to management. This is a conservative company."

A Black middle level manager from the same company summarized the meaning of conformity quite well: "Everyone wants a clean-cut, all-American boy who won't be a problem."

What the responses to the previous question show is that a substantial majority of the Black and white managers believe there are a number of unwritten policies which affect their companies' employment decisions. Many of these unwritten policies, while affecting all managers, have a more profound effect on Black managers because of the role race plays.

C. Promotional changes the managers would make

The managers were asked what changes they would institute in the promotional policies of their firm. Fifteen percent of the Black managers, and 38 percent of the white managers said they'd make no changes at all.

The responses of those who would make changes are directly related to the reasons they disagree with their companies' employment policies and the unwritten employment policies they believe exist in their firms. For example, one of the major reasons the Black and white managers do not agree with their companies' employment policies is because of the differences in views regarding the emphasis that should be placed on the seniority system. The most frequently mentioned change cited by Black managers is to deemphasize the seniority system; however, the second most frequent change cited by the white managers is to emphasize the seniority system.

A Black lower level manager in Cousins Manufacturing said with regard to the seniority system: "The current criteria is more or less one of seniority--hierarchy of positions. The next guy in line is entitled to the job irrespective of qualifications. People should be allowed to be put in a position of responsibility on their potential and not after proving they are capable by long years of service. I would do away with the prior restraints--give people the opportunity to fail."

A Black manager in Triple C Bank put it this way: "The firm has two different promotional policies--one for Blacks and one for whites. Promotions should be based on potential rather than on seniority. Blacks in the bank are not as high as they should be and there are some whites who are in positions above their capabilities. These positions could have been given to Blacks who have potential."

Table 4 lists the changes the managers would make, if they could, in their companies' promotional policies.

Other than the differences in opinion with regard to the importance of the roles of seniority, politics and racism in the companies' employment policies, the Black and white managers generally would attempt to make the job opportunities more well known, the evaluation procedures more objective, and the recognition and preparation of potential managers more effective.

The following statements present some of the managers' opinions with regard to developing more objective promotional policies and the role politics plays in promotional decisions. What becomes clear in these responses is that the Black and white managers tend to see the same non-ability mechanisms working in their companies' promotional systems for all employees.

A Black lower level manager in Ace Public Utility: "People get screened out because of their ethnic background, long hair, etc. I would select more objective evaluation criteria."

A suggestion to improve the evaluation procedures was offered by a white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing:

TABLE 4

CHANGES THE MANAGERS WOULD MAKE IN THEIR COMPANIES' PROMOTIONAL POLICIES

Changes	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
De-emphasize Seniority	23 %	6 %
None	15	38
Do Away With Politics	15	7
Better Information On Promotional Opportunities	14	8
More Objective Evaluation Procedures	13	8
Do Away With Discrimination	13	1
Better Identification And Preparation Of Potential Managers	8	12
Emphasize Seniority	5	12
Give Females More Opportunities	3	2
Promote On Merit And Not Because Of Being A Female	2	3
Other	4	8
Total*	115	105

*The total percentages are over 100 because the managers could indicate as many promotional changes as they would wish to make.

"The company should have an appraisal of the performance, responsibilities, and abilities of the employees by not less than two department superiors, one might be in personnel. If they only have one he might be prejudiced, etc., and would not let the employees advance."

A Black lower level manager in Ace Public Utility agreed with the previous manager: "The evaluation program should include written and oral examinations and interviews by people other than the individuals' co-workers and immediate superior. The people who do the evaluations should be in levels above the level of the individual whom they are evaluating."

A white female lower level manager in Ace Public Utility: "The promotion policies should be based strictly on an individual's merit and ability. In the past they have been based on an individual's sex. I haven't observed a racial bias, but my sample has been small. Political factors--what alliances you have--also play a part."

And a Black lower level manager from the same company: "The company should give more importance to an individual's performance and not to who you know."

D. Summary and conclusions of the managers' view of their companies' general employment policies

Though 82 percent of the white managers agree with their companies' general employment policies, 50 percent of them believe there are unwritten policies that realistically affect their companies' employment decisions and 62 percent of them would make changes in their companies' promotional policies. As for the Black managers, 63 percent of them disagree with their companies' employment policies, 75 percent believe there are unwritten employment policies, and 85 percent would make changes in the promotional policies of their companies.

Except for the importance of racial discrimination, politics and the degree of emphasis that should be placed on the seniority system, the white and Black managers see similar problems in their companies' employment policies: pressures to conform to company norms and standards in attitudes, dress, and physical appearance, and the need for more objective evaluation procedures.

In response to all three questions almost double the percentage of Black as white managers consider politics as an important and undesirable influence on employment policies. A possible explanation for this consistently large difference is that most Blacks, because of their race, have been prevented from forming relationships on and off-the-job with their white subordinates, peers, and superiors which could be helpful to their careers.

With regard to the large difference concerning seniority between the Black and white managers, the most reasonable explanation why many Black managers want to de-emphasize the seniority system is that the Black managers who participated in this study are very well educated and have finally received the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities to the business world. They do not want to be held back by a seniority system which they consider to be unfair due to businesses' past closed door policy towards Blacks. This position is supported by the fact that when age is used as the control variable for all of the questions dealing with the managers' views of the seniority system, it becomes clear that there are no large differences among the Black managers of all ages; however, the younger white managers are more likely to want to de-emphasize the seniority system than the older white managers.[4]

A white middle level manager in Ace Public Utility expertly described what many Black male and female managers and white female managers would like to see develop in their companies: "There should be a special accelerated promotional program and development program set up for nonwhites and women. Now they (the firm's management) are color and sex blind; thus they are still white male oriented." The reason the system is still white male oriented, even though the companies are supposedly color and sex blind, is because the white male has received great advantages in terms of experience and seniority due to past sexual and racial discrimination. Since past discriminatory practices are hard to change and most decisions are still made by white males, the white male will have the advantage. They will promote the individuals who fit their images of the most promotable managers which, of course, will be white males.

One white middle level manager in Triple A Bank put it this way: "People look for individuals who resemble them; therefore if you are different (Black), you are at a disadvantage if your boss is white which is the case 99.9 percent of the time."

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[4] Note that four of the five Black and white managers under 30 who would emphasize the seniority system are females. They believe that many white males have been promoted over them, even though they are as capable as the white males and have longer service with their companies.

The most reasonable explanation for white managers desiring to emphasize the seniority system rather than de-emphasizing it than Black managers is because they feel their secure, monopolistic positions are being threatened by the new competition from minorities and women. If the seniority system is emphasized they need not fear losing their promotional opportunities since they have served their companies for a longer period of time. In three of the large firms which participated in this study, women and minorities make up more than 50 percent of the employment work force. Therefore, it is understandable that these white managers would prefer the old seniority system because it gives them an advantage. Another but less important reason most of the white managers prefer to emphasize the seniority system is that many of the minorities and women are better educated than they are; therefore, these managers feel even more threatened since many of them are not as educated as their new competitors. It should be noted that many of these white managers probably feel threatened by any educated person whether the person is a member of a minority group, a woman, or a white male; however, the threat from minorities and women is newer and of greater potential and therefore of greater concern for some white managers.

In sum: Except for the few differences just discussed many Black and white managers see similar problems in their companies' general employment policies, which could or could not be directly related to race, i.e., the employment policies are not perfectly fair for either whites or Blacks; however, the situation is more difficult for Blacks because not only must they put up with all the unfair inconsistencies in the employment policies that whites must put up with, but Blacks must also put up with racial discrimination which makes their situation a great deal more difficult than the white managers' situation.

How the Managers Explain the Underutilization of Blacks in Industry and the Incidence of Black Managers in their Companies

As noted in Chapter IV, Black managers represented only .7 percent of the managerial work forces of the participating firms in 1967. In 1971 they represented only 1.9 percent of the managerial work forces.

The vast majority of the Blacks are in lower management positions. Only 2.2 percent of all the Black managers are in middle management and a slightly higher percentage are lower middle level managers. Most of the Blacks who make it to middle management are either in technical/professional positions with no supervisory or administrative duties or in positions in such areas as affirmative action, and public and industrial relations which are directly and primarily concerned with the Black community. Lower level Black managers are generally concerned with Black consumer markets and/or deal primarily with Black employees.

The firms in this study are similar to the firms in the corporate world in general with regard to the number, managerial levels, and the types of positions of Black managers. Since the situation is the same in the corporate world and in the participating firms, do the Black and white managers explain the situation in the same manner, do they place similar emphasis on the explanations, and which of the explanations is the most valid?

The managers were asked: How do you account for the seeming underutilization of Black managers in industry? With regard to their companies, the managers were asked: How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company?

Table 5 lists the reasons given by the managers for the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry.

Table 6 shows the responses of the managers to the question: How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company?

A careful review of these two tables indicates that there are three explanations for the present situation of Black managers. The explanations have been categorized into three major propositions.

One is that the present situation of Black managers can be explained at least in part by racial discrimination. Four out of five of the Black managers and two out of three of the white managers believe that Blacks have been underutilized in corporations at least in part because of racial discrimination. There were three other responses which directly implied that racial discrimination was the major factor. They were: (1) the companies are just beginning to put into effect their Affirmative Action Programs; (2) Blacks' lack of awareness of business opportunities because of past discrimination; and (3) the companies are just showcasing their Blacks.

TABLE 5

THE MANAGERS' EXPLANATIONS FOR THE SEEMING UNDERUTILIZATION OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THE CORPORATE WORLD IN GENERAL

Explanations	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Racial Discrimination	84 %	62 %
Firms Just Beginning To Practice EEO	9	13
Lack Of Education	8	30
Lack of Awareness Of Business Opportunities Because Of Past Discriminatory Practices	6	6
Lack of Qualifications	5	31
Showcasing	4	0
Different Life-Styles	3	10
Lack of Ambition and Initiative, Undependable	0	12
Blacks Lack Entrepreneurial Attitude	0	10
Other	8	3
Total*	127	177

*The total percentages are over 100 because many managers gave more than one explanation.

TABLE 6

THE MANAGERS' EXPLANATIONS FOR THE INCIDENCE OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THEIR COMPANIES

Explanations	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Civil Rights And Social Pressures	36 %	12 %
Governmental Pressure	33	12
Racial Discrimination	30	2
Company's AAP, i.e., Fair Employment Policy	19	50
Blacks Are Qualified	14	21
AAP Just Beginning	10	15
Blacks Are Becoming More Interested	4	1
Blacks Are A New Excellent Resource	4	5
Lack of Qualifications	3	12
Blacks Are Not Interested	1	4
Blacks Are Lazy, etc.	0	1
Other	3	4
Total*	157	139

*The total percentages are over 100 because many managers gave more than one explanation.

Although the white managers feel racial discrimination is a major explanation for the situation of Black managers in the corporate world in general they do not believe this is a major explanation for the situation of Black managers in their firms. Only 2 percent of the white managers attribute the very low incidence of Black managers in their companies, at least in part, to racial discrimination, compared to 31 percent of the Black managers. Fifteen percent of the white and 10 percent of the Black managers believe there are few Black managers in their firms because they are just beginning Affirmative Action Programs.

Many of the Black managers believe their firms would not have hired or promoted Black managers if it were not for governmental and/or social and civil rights pressures. Half of the Black managers selected at least one of these factors to explain the low number of Black managers in their company; almost one-fifth of the white managers concurred. As a Black middle level managers from Aunts Manufacturing said, "The only reason there are any Black managers in this company is because the government has to be satisfied."

Thus, while only about one-third of the Black managers believe racial discrimination is an explanation for the incidence of Black managers in their companies, many of them believe their firms have a small number of Black managers because of external pressures and not because their firms are progressive in providing Blacks with equal employment opportunities.

The second most important proposition used to explain the underutilization of Black managers in industry in general is that Blacks lack the necessary qualifications. Fifty-three percent of the white managers, compared to 12 percent of the Black managers selected this as at least part of the reason.

This proposition is most frequently used by the white managers to explain the incidence of Black managers in their companies. Again very few Black managers use the qualification proposition.

That qualifications is the most important proposition used by the white managers to explain the situation of Black managers in their firms is not absolutely clear from the table.

When the white managers say that their firms have fair employment policies to hire and promote Blacks they are directly or indirectly implying that the Blacks who are now being hired and promoted are qualified and that the reason they were not hired or promoted before is because they were not qualified. For example, one white middle level manager in Triple C Bank said, "Our company has a fair employment policy. The Blacks whom we employ as managers are qualified. If they were not qualified we would not have hired or promoted them."

The Black managers are saying that there are a lot of qualified Blacks and their firms should have more. As one Black female manager in Ace Public Utility said, "Blacks are here because they are just outstanding managers . . . ."

The third proposition given, almost exclusively by the white managers, is the cultural proposition. These respondents hold that Blacks have different life-styles, lack ambition, are lazy, and/or lack entrepreneurial attitudes. This explanation was used much more frequently to explain the underutilization of Black managers in industry in general than to explain the incidence of Black managers in these companies.

In the next three sections each proposition will be carefully and critically analyzed.

The Cultural Proposition

The basis for the cultural proposition stems from the belief that Blacks are not making it in the corporate world because they are culturally different from whites, with a distinct subculture with their own set of values and behaviors. The managers in this study gave three separate, yet closely related, interpretations of cultural differences. First, Blacks are supposedly culturally different from whites because they lack strong "entrepreneurial ethics." Second, Blacks supposedly lack initiative, ambition, and drive. Third, Blacks supposedly possess different dress styles, manners of speech, overall personal mannerisms, and social mores than whites.

The writer shall first analyze the "entrepreneurial ethic" interpretation of the cultural proposition. Some of the white managers believe that because most Blacks have not been brought up in an entrepreneurial atmosphere, they have not developed a strong interest in pursuing business careers. Nine percent of the white managers and none of the Black managers selected this interpretation of the cultural proposition to explain, at least in part, the underutilization of Blacks in industry. None of the managers believe that this interpretation of the cultural proposition could be used to explain the incidence of Black managers in their firms.

Most Black parents who have attended college in the past normally pursued degrees in the professional fields such as social services and teaching rather than degrees in business administration or the scientific fields. This is evident in this study. In Chapter II it was shown that the vast majority of the Black parents with college degrees were clergymen, teachers, lawyers, doctors, or business owners in Black communities. However, Blacks did not select social services, teaching professions, and other professions because they were their personal choices, but out of necessity. Blacks realized that a college degree in business administration or business-related subjects would not prove practical because of the white business community's closed door policy with regard to the employment of Blacks; however, this does not prove that Blacks lack an entrepreneurial ethic.

When the data on fathers' occupations collected in this study were collapsed into broader occupational categories, it was found that 27 percent of the white managers' fathers were business managers at various levels, 18 percent were owners of small or moderate size businesses, and 18 percent were professionals. This clearly indicates most white managers come from families with entrepreneurial backgrounds. However, 21 percent of the Black managers' fathers were skilled laborers, 20 percent were unskilled laborers, 8 percent were railroad dining room waiters, and 6 percent were small farmers. The figures suggest that sons of skilled and unskilled Black fathers are selecting business careers even though they have not been brought up in an entrepreneurial atmosphere. This is because Blacks, especially young Blacks, are finally obtaining limited opportunities to improve their occupational status, many of them are breaking away from the unskilled and skilled occupations of their parents and seeking employment in the corporate world as managers. One should not forget that because the Protestant ethic and capitalistic system so thoroughly dominate American society, the vast majority of Blacks have been inculcated with the entrepreneurial ethic. Blacks have always been able to see the vast financial rewards and other benefits which whites receive for being members of the corporate world, especially members of the managerial ranks, and Blacks have always had the desire to work and to receive those rewards; however, discrimination has been the major barrier preventing Blacks from achieving their goals in the business world. Finally, for Blacks to survive and progress in the hostile atmosphere which existed in this country and which still exists, demonstrates that they have developed the knowledge and expertise to become worthwhile and important members of any institution.

One of the middle level Black managers aptly summarized this interpretation of the cultural proposition: "There is an opinion or myth that only sons of businessmen can make it. There is an association of Caucasians with the business world and with the attitude that Blacks can't make it because their fathers never made it in the business world."

The second interpretation of the cultural proposition is that Blacks are not making it in the corporate world, either in terms of being hired or promoted, because they have bad work habits, lack initiative and ambition, and are undependable. Twelve percent of the white managers in the study selected this interpretation of the cultural proposition as at least part of the explanation for the underutilization of Blacks in industry. One middle level white manager in Century Manufacturing said, "Caucasians are the most ambitious--Blacks aren't interested in becoming a part of the business world." Another white middle level manager in Triple C Bank said, "There are a lot of things we take for granted that we better not take for granted when we bring Black people to work here. Most of these people are not initially ready to take on the discipline of a job. The culture and knowledge are different. We expect certain work habits from the white employees that can't be taken for granted from the Black employees."

As one would expect, none of the Black managers selected this interpretation. Only one percent of the white managers selected this as an explanation for the incidence of Black managers in their companies.

Randall Collins summarized sociological literature which discusses "superior" values of children from middle and upper class families. This is essentially what the white managers in this study are saying Blacks lack:

> Since many of the family patterns which foster such high aspirations and values are found more widely in the middle class than in the lower class, motivation for high educational and occupational achievement is more widespread in middle-class children, who are therefore more likely to rise into higher positions or to hold their parents' occupational level, than are lower-class children to win these middle-class positions.[5]

Although the majority of the Black managers in this study and the majority of Black people in general do not come from a "superior" family background, Black pride, which has been developing at a slow but increasing pace since before the Civil War, has created within the Black community a need and desire to succeed. This Black pride has created in its own way "superior" values, goals, and standards.

Some of the white managers who participated in the study tend to support the previous proposition. Almost one-fifth said that some of the good characteristics they have observed about Black managers in their companies are dedication, confidence, ambition, and high motivation. In addition, one-fifth said they do not see any real differences between the Black and white managers.

These "superior" ethics Blacks possess due to the long development of Black pride are well illustrated in the Black managers' remarks to some of the questions such as : What advice would you give an individual Black person with regard to the best possible strategy to follow in this society in order to live a prosperous, free life?, and What would you say is the best way for a young Black to achieve high managerial positions in the business world?

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[5] Randall Collins, "Employment and Education, A Study in the Dynamics of Stratification" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 42.

In general, the managers suggest that Blacks become well educated, develop their skills, set and pursue high goals and priorities, work hard and do their job well, stand up for their rights and be proud.[6]

This counter proposition is further supported in Chapter VIII by the fact that the goals and ambitions of the Black and white managers are quite similar. If anything, the Black managers are more ambitious. In addition, Blacks are much more likely to select new jobs because of chances of advancement and salary increases than whites who are more interested in the aesthetic characteristics of a job, i.e., its interest and sense of worth.

Thus, even though most Blacks were not brought up in what the white managers believe is the necessary cultural environment to obtain "superior" values, goals, ambitions, and standards, Blacks have developed these "superior" ethics through increasing Black awareness and pride. Additional support for this position comes from Goodwin's study on welfare mothers and poor people. He noted that there was a very strong desire on the part of welfare mothers and their sons to get a good education and to pursue a good career.[7]

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[6] See Chapters IX and X for a more detailed discussion of these two questions.

[7] Leonard Goodwin, Do the Poor Want to Work? (Washington, D. C., 1972).

Ferman, et al. put forth a more reasonable argument regarding this second interpretation of the cultural proposition:

> . . . the Negro is confronted by a restricted opportunity structure that denies him access--intentionally or unintentionally--to adequate jobs, training, education, and housing. It is not that the Negro does not have the proper goals, values, or motivations, but rather that these exist, unlike in the case of whites, within the framework of an opportunity structure that renders impossible the fulfillment of these basic social drives.[8]

The pattern of the attitudes of the white managers about Blacks' values and ambitions is ironical. Some of the Black and white managers in this study indicated that many whites complain about Blacks being lazy, lacking ambition, aggressiveness, and initiative; however, they pointed out that they have heard the same whites complain that Blacks are too aggressive, too ambitious, too confident, and too independent. For some whites Blacks will never have the "right" attitudes--another reason to question the validity of the proposition that Blacks are not and have not been making it in the corporate world because they lack initiative and are undependable and unambitious.

The third version of the cultural proposition used primarily to justify the almost complete lack of Black representation in the middle and upper managerial levels is that because Blacks have a different culture which produces different dress styles, manners of speech, overall personal mannerisms, and social mores, they would not be able to effectively interact in the higher business circles where many major business decisions are made at social functions outside of work. Ferman stated this cultural argument in the following way:

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[8] Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller, Negroes and Jobs (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), p. 109.

> Some Negroes may have the adequate technical preparation but lack necessary social skills needed in the job. The major thrust of this argument is that Negroes come from a "different" cultural background and do not possess the verbal cues of white middle-class people. Therefore, this "culture gap" will interfere with the job performance of the Negro, especially if the job involves extensive contact with whites.[9]

In this study two of the Black managers and 10 percent of the white managers selected this interpretation of the cultural proposition to explain the underutilization of Black managers in industry. None selected it to explain the incidence of Black managers in their firms.

White managers can find support for their contention that a culturally homogeneous group of managers is necessary for an organization to function smoothly. Chester Barnard in his book, Functions of the Executive, suggested that in order for business to function smoothly it is necessary to have a homogeneous group of managers who have the same life-style, culture, values, and norms, which will make it easier for them to understand one another not only at work, but at social activities which play an important part in the business world. There has been some empirical evidence to support Barnard's contention. For example, Sayles and Strauss noted that 90 percent of the managers in seventy-six large corporations who had their jobs terminated were terminated because of personality traits and not because of technical and/or professional incompetence.[10]

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[9] Ferman, p. 66.

Vance Packard wrote this excellent evaluation of Barnard's rationale:

> An early rationale for confining executive selection to a homogeneous group was developed in the late thirties by telephone executive Chester I. Barnard in his still widely read, The Functions of the Executive. Barnard listed as incentives to get executives to work more smoothly together the possibility of "communion" and "social compatibility" and "comfort in social relations." From such concepts he leaped into the idea that often "men cannot be promoted or selected, or even must be relieved because . . . the do not fit," even where there is no question of formal competence. This question of "fitness" involves such matters as education, experience, age, sex, personal distinctions, prestige, race, nationality, faith, politics, sectional antecedents; and such very specific personal traits as manners, speech, personal appearance, etc. That was quite a mouthful, and some believe that whatever his intention, the statements have had a profound influence in serving to encourage the WASPs in their conviction that fellow WASPs make the best colleagues for the executive suite.[11]

This version of the cultural proposition must be dismissed as being invalid because such books as Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie have pointed out that there are many Blacks who have adopted the life-style, mores, dress style, and manners of speech of the white middle-class to the nth degree; these Blacks are more WASP than the WASPs.[12] The writer is not saying that this is good or bad; he is simply pointing out that there are many Blacks who could fit perfectly into the WASP executive world, except in color. Furthermore, as Charles A. Valentine has argued, in order for Blacks to survive in this society they must be bi-cultural.

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[10] George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, Personnel (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1960), p. 443.

[11] Packard, p. 36.

[12] Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (New York, 1957).

> . . . it becomes clear that what has been required for Afro-Americans to sustain coherence and continuity in group life goes beyond divided identity consciousness or awareness of dual cultural systems. What has also been developed is a measure of double cultural competence. Afro-Americans must not only be conscious of two ethnic worlds; they must also be able to behave with a certain effectiveness in terms of the standards prescribed by both worlds. This is a major reason why all images of Black Americans which portray only cultural distinctness, inconsistency, or opposition to Euro-American patterns . . . are incomplete to the point of extreme distortion.[13]

A. Summary and conclusions of the cultural proposition

Although only a relatively small percent of the white managers selected one of the various interpretations of the cultural proposition to explain the present situation of Black managers in white corporations, overall three out of ten of them selected at least one of the three interpretations of the cultural proposition, i.e., Blacks lack the entrepreneurial ethic, Blacks are undependable, lack ambition and initiative, and Blacks have a different cultural background in terms of mores, life-styles, dress, and speech. Chapter VI findings will reveal that nine out of ten of the white managers made some negative stereotype remarks about Blacks and/or agreed with negative stereotypes about Blacks which are directly based on some aspect of the cultural proposition.

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[13] Charles A. Valentine, Black Studies and Anthropology: Scholarly and Political Interests in Afro-American Culture (Reading, Mass., 1972), p. 145.

Several of the responses of the white managers summarize the three primary interpretations of the cultural proposition.

A lower level manager from Ace Public Utility: "Most industries are basically white. The values and culture of whites have been an obstacles to Blacks--it is more than just skin pigment. In the past there has been a real bias, this has compounded this difficulty of values. Most Blacks don't have the necessary background to assimilate in the white business world. A Black individual has to be really talented to make it; the difficulty lies with the average Black."

A middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "Many of the white college graduates are raised in a cultural world that has a bearing on their business ability. The environment in which many Blacks are raised doesn't contribute to their understanding of the business world."

The main problem with the entire cultural proposition is that it is used in a racial manner rather than in a class manner which would be more appropriate. But it cannot even be used in a class manner because there are numerous variations of life-styles and attitudes in neighborhoods and even among families. Thus it would be unfair to attribute specific cultural styles to all members of a certain class let alone a race. One could make a statement that generally a poor, uneducated, lower-class, Black ghetto dweller would not be able to function properly in the corporate world because of his/her background, but the same applies to a white with similar background. Another statement which can be made is that, in general, there are many more similarities in culture and attitudes between the various Black and white social classes than there are differences.

It is not that Blacks, especially those aspiring to become managers, possess cultural differences which would hinder their becoming a part of the business world, rather because of white society's racial barriers Blacks have not been allowed to interact with whites in the business world; therefore they have not been able to demonstrate their interest, ambition, and abilities to the white business world. Furthermore, it is not that Blacks are unable to interact with whites because every day they are forced to do so in this society, but that some whites live such isolated, sheltered lives that they are culturally disadvantaged and psychologically unable to interact with Blacks or any other group of people regardless of color who are not exactly like them.

As one white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing said: "The white community considers Blacks to be different without really knowing them; therefore, they categorize Blacks into one group. Their lack of inter-social contact and business contact with Blacks has tended to segregate them in their own minds."

Valentine expertly states the argument against the cultural proposition being used as a valid explanation for the present situation of Black managers in white corporations. He writes:

> The collective behavior and community life of Afro-Americans can best be understood as bicultural in the sense that people regularly draw upon both an ethnically distinctive repertoire of beliefs and customs and, at the same time, make use of behavior patterns from the Euro-American cultural mainstream. Learning both cultural systems begins at an early age and continues throughout life. Patterns from both sources are of great, though not nessarily equal, importance in all individual Afro-American lives. It is not just that Black people can and must learn about White behavior and expectations as they grow and move beyond the parental family or ethnic community narrowly defined. Nor are we dealing here only with the fact that historical necessity has forced the Black man bent on survival to be a keen observer of the White oppressor. All these things are both true and important, but they are not the whole story.
>
> Beyond all this, it is also the case that growing into being an Afro-American person means, from the beginning, receiving Euro-American standards, values, habits of thought, and patterns of belief. These come to the Black child from sources as diverse as the conscious or unconscious behavior of Black parents and the systematic propaganda of the black-and-white or color TV. In spite of everything, for example, the American dream of comfort, respectability, and security as rewards for conventional individualist effort still stirs the souls of ghetto folk. This does not at all negate the fact that each individual is simultaneously exposed to a clearly distinctive ethnic heritage.
>
> . . . Because of the way Euro-American institutions operate--from schools to employment to the housing market or the court system--most Black people are prevented from activating or actualizing their lifelong socialization into White patterns, the same patterns which so many Euro-Americans easily use to achieve affluence and ease. Most Blacks are reduced to peripheral manipulations around the edges of a system which might have crushed them entirely long ago if they had not acquired and developed such multiple competences as they could.[14]

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[14] Ibid., p. 33.

In conclusion, it is sufficient to say first that, in general, basic similarities far outweigh any observed differences between Blacks and whites. In addition, there are marked differences within the Black and white races; therefore, the cultural proposition as it is presently believed and used by the white managers in this study is very questionable.

The Qualification Proposition

The qualification proposition uses one or a combination of the following factors to explain the present situation of Black managers in industry: Blacks lack education, technical knowledge, professional knowledge, scientific knowledge, and/or experience. In this study this was the second most important proposition used by the white managers to explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry and the most frequent proposition used by the white managers to explain the incidence of Black managers in their companies. Also, in general, the white business community and most white writers who have written about Blacks in white corporations have used the qualification proposition as their primary explanation for the dismal state of Blacks in the corporate world, especially in management positions.[15]

A white upper level manager's comments from Ace Public Utility are quite typical: "My department (engineering) is unable to find any colored fellows to hire--they are not qualified.

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[15] For example, see: Garda W. Bowman, "The Image of a Promotable Person in Business Enterprise" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1962). Garda W. Bowman, "What Helps or Harms Promotability?," Harvard Business Review, 42, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1964), 6-26, 184-196. William H. Quay, The Negro in the Chemical Industry (Philadelphia, 1969). Richard Rowan, The Negro in the Banking Industry (Philadelphia, 1970).

We are under pressure to find colored people and minorities and we would like to get some. There just aren't many colored people in engineering. I am going to have a terrible time trying to fill my affirmative action quota. We have one colored summer student who I would like to keep, but these people are in great demand by other companies too."

Very few Black managers believe that Blacks are not making it in the corporate world because they lack the necessary qualifications. The vast majority of the Black managers believe that Blacks do have the qualifications and are only lacking the opportunities to display them, while a majority of the white managers believe the opportunities are there but the Blacks are lacking the qualifications.

The major problem with the qualification proposition is that, in most cases it is very difficult to define what is meant by qualifications, to evaluate qualifications, and to determine what qualifications are necessary to be able to perform a specific job well.[16] For example, some jobs require specific technical or professional skills and some do not. One does not put a social worker into a position which requires expertise in chemical engineering. Most people can agree that the social worker would not be qualified to deal with complex chemistry problems; however, it becomes more difficult to determine who is most qualified when one has a number of chemical engineers to select from and/or when one has to select managers for non-technical positions.

After one selects a person on such criteria measuring the specific technical or professional skills needed to do the job, one has no assurance that this manager will make correct decisions in less well defined situations. The selector is basing his/her decision on what he/she expects the person will do, and more specifically, on what he/she expects the person to do in certain situations. Another part of judging a person's qualifications, based on expectations, is how socially acceptable the person will be. The individual's social acceptability might determine how well he/she can do the job. If the individual is not acceptable, it is quite possible that his/her peers, subordinates, and superiors could make it impossible to perform the job satisfactorily. In short, it is very difficult to define and evaluate qualifications and then to determine which qualifications are necessary to perform the job well.

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[16] In the first section of this chapter the managers' comments about unwritten employment policies and promotional changes they would make give strong support to this statement.

While it is difficult for white managers to evaluate objectively the qualifications of other white managers, it is even more difficult when they attempt to evaluate the qualifications of Black managers. Gourlay addressed himself to this problem:

> Prior to the recent furor over employment practices, few managers considered themselves discriminatory or irrational and subjective in their selection policies. Most managers had given very little thought to the problem but assumed that they were objective. Certainly, few Northern businessmen have justified, refusal to hire qualified Negroes. The problem was that of defining qualification. At least unconsciously many managers felt that certain jobs were not suited for Negroes, just as some jobs are not suited for women or for old men. There was a great deal of blindness or selective perception here--which Myrdal calls the "convenience of ignorance"--and even intellectual laziness and moral cowardice. Management just did not see the

> Negro applicant as a potential skilled tradesman, salesman, or executive.[17]

Another aspect regarding the evaluation of an individual's qualifications is that firms tend to require Blacks to be more qualified.[18]

For example, the managers were asked their degree of agreement with the first statement and whether or not they believe the second question is true:

> Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in this company.
>
> Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them?

From the managers' responses to previous questions in this chapter, it would seem reasonable to expect that the vast majority of the white managers would strongly agree with the first statement and respond negatively to the second, while the vast majority of the Black managers would respond in the opposite manner.

With the statement that Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in their companies, only 10 percent of the white managers strongly disagreed, 54 percent disagreed, 35 percent agreed, and 1 percent strongly agreed.[19]

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[17] Gourlay, p. 12.

[18] See also: Ferman, p. 74. Stuart Taylor, "The Black Executive and the Corporation: A Difficult Fit," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, Jan., 1972, p. 92.

[19] Quinn, et al., from whose study the first statement was taken, said that if the managers believed their company was completely fair, they would strongly disagree with the statement.

The lower level white managers, who have the most on-the-job contact with Blacks, believe more frequently (49 percent) that Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in their companies than the middle (34 percent) and upper level (23 percent) white managers. The responses of the white lower level managers are probably more correct and knowledgeable than the responses of the middle level managers and the responses of the upper middle level managers because the higher up the managerial ladder the managers are, the further away they are from the actual supervision and evaluation of Black managers. Of course this is due to the fact that there are few Black managers in the middle level of management and none in the upper level of management. Therefore, it is more likely that the middle and upper level managers are expressing what should be the situation in their firms rather than what actually is the situation.

Only one Black manager strongly disagreed, 10 percent disagreed, 41 percent agreed, and 47 percent strongly agreed with the statement.

The responses to this statement tend to support the Black managers' proposition that Blacks must be "super-niggers" or over-qualified before they are hired or promoted and tend to invalidate the white managers' proposition that Blacks are not/were not hired or promoted because they lack the necessary qualifications.

With regard to the question: Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them?, more than two-thirds of the Black managers and more than one-fourth of the white managers responded in the affirmative.

When managerial level is used as the control variable, 37 percent of the white upper level managers, 22 percent of the white middle level managers, and 26 percent of the white lower level managers answered this question affirmatively. Five of the eleven white senior managers believe that it would be a big disservice to Blacks and the company if Blacks were promoted into management and did not succeed, four said they answered affirmatively because Blacks have a much higher success record, and two said that their company has a policy for the present time of being more careful in promoting Black employees because they believe it is essential for the first Black managers to succeed if their Affirmative Action Program is to be successful.

An upper level white manager from Aunts Manufacturing put it this way: "I only think that they want to be right when they put a Black in a position. It is too important to get Blacks into positions and to not be careless in promoting them--they can't turn out to be failures."

Several of the managers' responses as to why the managers believe their firms are more careful will help illustrate their reasoning.[20]

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[20] See Appendix B, pp. 549-551, for the reasons the managers believe their firms are more careful in promoting Blacks.

A white middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "Blacks are more competent than their white counterparts. I am more careful with my Black managers."

A Black lower level manager from the same company gave his own personal experience as a reason: "I was placed in a temporary promotion for four months before I was made a senior salesman. My white peers have spent at most six weeks in the training program--but I was the first Black."

A white manager again from the same company corroborated the Black manager's story when he said: "At the present time we have a few Blacks in Inside Sales, but we won't put them into Outside Sales until we are completely sure they can handle the job--we would put a white in there first because he could handle the job better."

A similar experience to the previous Black managers was expressed by a Black manager in Triple C Bank: "They (the company) were very skeptical to move me. I was a supervisor before I was promoted and I was kept there for five years which is an abnormally long time. I was told I wasn't promoted because there was no one to replace me--probably being Black was the cause."

Another Black manager from Triple C Bank: "I know a Black who knows his job, but when his superior left he was replaced by a white man from a different field who the Black had to train."

Finally, a white middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "Most Black executives are super-Blacks--mediocrity is the privilege of the white male."

A potentially dangerous reason many white managers believe their firms are not more careful in promoting Blacks than whites is that Black employees are given unfair advantages. Many of the white managers believe their companies are practicing reverse discrimination in favor of Blacks, while most of the Black managers believe their companies still have discriminatory policies in favor of whites.[21]

A white middle level manager from Triple C Bank expressed the white managers' general position: "It is the other way around now--they (Blacks) are given promotions faster than they are worthy of them."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing expressed the Black managers' position in this manner: "They are more careful but not because they want Blacks to succeed. They are more careful because they are wary of putting Blacks into managerial positions."

Fifty-three percent of the white managers believe Blacks must be better than whites to get ahead and/or that their firms are more careful in promoting Blacks than whites; however, 92 percent of them believe their firm is not paying lip-service to the idea of equal employment opportunities for Blacks. Only 27 percent of the Black managers concurred.

Because education is the cornerstone of the qualification proposition, a few specific comments should be made about educational requirements for managerial jobs. Many writers concerned with educational achievement, its correlation to success in business, and its necessity to perform many jobs have questioned the great amount of emphasis being placed on education, especially college degrees. In general, these writers have concluded that education is more of a socializing function and that requiring educational credentials to perform acceptable work is being over-emphasized because most of the training needed to perform a job is learned on-the-job rather than in school.[22]

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[21] It should be noted that throughout the interviews there was a general belief on the part of most white managers that if you are Black you have it made.

Melville Dalton wrote:

> This tie between education and rank in the line suggests that training was related to managerial skills and was, therefore, probably a criterion for advancement. However, the data showed that only a minority of the managers were in positions relevant to their schooling, while at least 62 percent were engaged in duties not related to their formal training. For example, the industrial relations department was headed by officers with degrees in aeronautical and chemical engineering; a divisional superintendent had specialized in medicine; a superintendent who majored in law was in charge of mechanical processes; etc.
>
> In some cases mere quantity of schooling may have been a rough criterion for advancement. If so, it became obscured in the play of personal relations. A more realistic hypothesis might be that greater schooling contributed to increased desire for status and a higher style of life as a result of growing knowledge and association during college years with those of higher socioeconomic status. At the same time, the psychological mobility of education probably weakened the group-centered values acquired in childhood and strengthened the readiness with which many

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[22] See also Collins, p. 109. Robert A. Gordon and James E. Howell, Higher Education for Business (New York, 1959), p. 121.

> of the managers seized advantages and created impressions favorable to their personal success.[23]

Wilensky has noted that the average worker in America holds twelve major jobs during the normal 46 year work life and only one-fifth remain within the same general occupational category throughout his/her work life. From these facts Wilensky concludes that specialized educational training in schools is not likely to be of indispensable value to the average worker. The value he sees in education is that it develops analytical and verbal skills and skills of adaptability.[24]

The findings in this study tend to support Dalton's and Wilensky's findings that most managers during their careers hold positions which are not directly related to their major field of study in college. There were many examples of white managers who were trained in engineering and other physical sciences placed in financial areas and white managers who were trained in social sciences placed in production and technical areas. This occurs primarily because the firms in this study generally transfer their white managers into new positions, usually in different areas, every two or three years. This is done especially with those managers who are considered to be high achievers and are thought to be upper management candidates.

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[23] Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, 56 (March, 1951), 410.

[24] Harold L. Wilensky, "Careers, Counseling, and the Curriculum," Journal of Human Resources, 2 (Winter, 1967), 32.

It should be noted that the previous paragraph referred to white managers and not to Black managers. Black managers, especially those in the middle level of management, are almost exclusively placed in the fields in which they receive their college training. For example, 96 percent of the Black middle level managers with college degrees work in the areas in which they received their degrees, compared to 57 percent of the white middle level managers. In addition, the 24 percent of the Black managers with degrees in technical or scientific areas are all working in the areas in which they received their degrees; this is not the case with the white managers. Also all of the Black females and five of the six white females are working in the areas in which they received their degrees.

A. Summary and conclusions of the qualification proposition

In the previous section it was shown that the white managers in this study, in business in general, and many white writers concerned with the Black employment situation believe that the primary reason Blacks have not made it in the corporate world and in their firms is because they lack the necessary qualifications in terms of education, training, and experience. Very few Black managers agree with this point of view.

While nine out of ten of the white managers believe their firms are not paying lip-service to providing Blacks with equal opportunities, more than one out of two of them believe Blacks must be better than whites to get ahead in their firms and/or their firms are more careful in promoting Blacks than whites because the firm wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them.

There are some obvious contradictions in the white managers' position. If Black managers must be above average and if they are more carefully evaluated because their firms want to be certain that they will succeed before promoting them, these companies are discriminating against Blacks and their firms cannot honestly claim to be equal opportunity employers. These practices are extremely futile and extremely unfair to Blacks primarily because no one can be certain that any manager, regardless of color, will succeed before promoting him/her. In addition, requiring Blacks to be over-qualified could lead firms to institutionalize dual selection and evaluation systems which would set unrealistic standards for Blacks. In other words, if the firms require Blacks to be over-qualified, they will soon begin to expect Blacks to have superior records. Anything below superior would be considered unacceptable. Again, this would be a far cry from offering equal employment opportunities. True equal employment opportunities will be when an average Black can secure a job with the same efforts as an average white. Blacks must have the chance to fail or succeed by the same rules and criteria that govern whites. Until this happens, no firm can truly be considered an equal opportunity employer. Furthermore, requiring Blacks to be over-qualified can have harmful effects on the attitudes of the Black managers toward themselves and their work. If Blacks believe they must be better than whites in qualifications and job performances, their work attitudes can deteriorate to the point where qualified, capable Blacks because of the pressure placed on them by this dual system could become ineffective, frustrated managers and many of them will leave their firms. In Chapter VIII evidence is presented which supports this position.

There were several general explanations given by some of the Black and white managers which help explain why many of the white managers believe Blacks are getting hiring and promotional advantages: (1) many companies use a great deal of public relations strategy in the area of equal opportunities which presents an image that the companies are doing everything in their power to give Blacks equal employment opportunities; (2) any movement toward more equitable employment policies is considered by many white managers to be giving Blacks an unequal advantage; and (3) there is a general belief in white society that Blacks are getting all the advantages, while whites are being pushed into the background.

In the last part of this section, evidence was presented which questioned educational credentials as a requirement for performing acceptable work. It should be noted that this writer and the other writers quoted are not saying that educational achievement is not important in separating those who are more trained, better motivated, and better socialized from those who are not, but what is being said is that educational achievement does not insure that individuals acquire the professional, technical and managerial competence which are required in business. A great deal of knowledge required to do the job is learned on-the-job and not in the classroom. This point was supported by the fact that many managers, especially whites, are in areas in which they did not obtain their college degrees and the fact that many white managers have never attended college but have become successful managers. Thus the claim that Blacks do not have the educational requirements is questionable or as R. M. Mahoney, Manager of Industrial Relations Development, Union Carbide Corporation, noted in Bowman's study of 2,000 managers, the number of Blacks with the proper type of education is relative. He wrote:

> I do not agree that "very few" minority group members have the education needed by successful managers. Consider the major minority group--Negroes. Relative to whites, for a variety of reasons, there are substantially smaller percentages of college-trained individuals in disciplines in the widest demand in the general labor market. For example, Union Carbide Corporation is interested in substantial numbers of engineers and scientists. Negroes, constituting about 10.5% of the population, make up only about 1.5% of the current college graduates. Nonetheless, they number 5,000 to 6,000 per year, and this is increasing. The 1960 census reported about 350,000 nonwhite college graduates 25 years and older.
>
> Everything is relative. Although the percentage of nonwhite college graduates is about one-half that of whites, there are significant and enlarging numbers of nonwhite college graduates in curricula needed for achievement in business management.[25]

In concluding, one must seriously question the entire qualification proposition as the main explanation for the Black managers' situation in the corporate world. The validity of this proposition has been greatly over-emphasized by the white business community.

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[25] Bowman (1964), p. 188.

The Discriminatory Proposition: Introduction

The previous pages indicate that the cultural proposition is invalid and the qualification proposition has only a trace of validity for explaining the present situation of Black managers in white corporations. This section will present substantial evidence that past and present racial discrimination is the major reason for the present dismal situation of Black managers in the corporate world and in the participating firms.

A. Multiple regression analysis and analysis of variance

That being white is a helpful characteristic for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in business in general and being Black is harmful is strongly supported by the following multiple regression analysis and analysis of variance.

First the multiple regression analysis will be discussed. The writer attempted to see what effect nine factors had on the salary and managerial levels of the Black and white managers. (Since managerial level and salary have a correlation coefficient (R) of .898 the regression analysis will discuss only the effect of these factors on salary.) They were: race (R), job duration at present firm (JD), length of job experience at other firms related to present job (OJD), age (A), education achievement (ED), special training (ST), mothers' and fathers' educational achievement (MED, FED), and fathers' occupational achievement (FO). The relationship of these factors to salary would be as follows:

$$\text{Salary} = f(R, JR, OJR, A, ED, ST, MED, FED, FO).$$

One would expect the above factors to have essentially an additive effect on salary; therefore, the regression formula would be:

$$\text{Salary} = B_1 + B_2R + B_3JD + B_4OJD + B_5A + B_6ED + B_7ST + B_8MED + B_9FED + B_{10}FO.$$

In the above formula B_1 is the constant term and the remaining B's are partial correlation coefficients which measure the effect of a unit change in the independent variable (R, JR, OJR, etc.) on the dependent variable salary. For example, if the regression coefficient of job duration is .69, an increase from 0 to 1 years in job duration would change the manager's salary by .69 which would be translated into $1,380 per year. All of the variables were assigned coded values; for example: race received the value 0 for Blacks and 1 for whites, job duration received the values of 0-21, education received the values of 0-9, and work experience in other companies directly related to present job received the values of 0-21.

After running several regressions using the above variables, it became apparent that race, job duration at present firms, work experience at other firms related to present jobs, and educational levels were the only significant factors in the general regression equations. These factors were found significant using the T-score for each of the regression coefficients. The T-score is the ratio of the regression coefficient to its standard deviation. Using a one-tailed test at the .01 level of significance, the estimate coefficient will be significantly different from zero if the T-score exceeds 2.326. All the factors dropped out of the equation were not significant at the .10 level and those remaining were significant at the .01 level. It should be noted that age was significant when job duration in present firm and work experience in other firms directly related to present job were removed from the equation, but was not when they were included; therefore, age was removed from the equation because it is apparently an index of the two other variables which offer more explanatory power than age. Thus the equation which will be used for the discussion in the next few pages is:

$$\text{Salary} = B_1 + B_2R + B_3JD + B_4ED + B_5OJD.$$

This equation is for the entire sample of Black and white managers. Separate equations will be used for the Black and white managers after this initial discussion. These four factors explain 46 percent (R^2) of the variance in the salary level of all the managers. See Table 7 for the correlation coefficients (R) and the amount of explained variance (R^2). The F-score is significant at least at the .001 (P) level indicating the equation taken as a whole has significant explanatory power. The estimated equation with its partial correlation coefficient is as follows:

$$\text{Salary} = -4.4 + 2.3R + .47JD + .81ED + .16OJD.$$

Notice how much stronger race is in determining salary than the other factors combined.

TABLE 7

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AND EXPLAINED VARIANCE

Variables	Race	Total Managerial Level	Salary	Blacks Only Management Level	Blacks Only Salary	Whites Only Management Level	Whites Only Salary
Race							
R	1.000	.440	.485	NA	NA	NA	NA
R^2	100.0 %	19.4 %	23.5 %	NA	NA	NA	NA
Managerial Level							
R	.440	1.00	.898	1.00	.829	1.00	.899
R^2	19.4 %	100.0 %	80.6 %	100.0 %	68.7 %	100.0 %	81.0 %
Length of Service							
R	.564	.440	.464	.180	.218	.277	.271
R^2	31.8 %	19.4 %	21.5 %	3.2 %	4.6 %	7.7 %	7.3 %
Salary							
R	.485	.898	1.00	.829	1.00	.899	1.00
R^2	23.5 %	80.6 %	100.0 %	68.7 %	100.0 %	81.0 %	100.0 %
Education							
R	-.117	.187	.176	.361	.379	.236	.254
R^2	-1.3 %	3.5 %	3.1 %	13.0 %	14.4 %	5.6 %	6.5 %
Other Work Experience							
R	-.119	.152	.144	.325	.370	.187	.242
R^2	-1.4 %	2.3 %	2.1 %	10.7 %	13.7 %	3.5 %	5.9 %

Using this equation one can predict the salary levels of managers with a combination of characteristics. For example, a Black manager (0) with two years of work experience (0), a college degree (8), and no other work experience would make $8,160 per year. This sum is obtained in this manner:

$$\text{Salary} = -4.4 + 2.3(0) + .47(0) + .81(8) + .16(0) = 2.08$$

which when converted into dollars = $8,160.

A white manager with similar characteristics would make $12,740, i.e.,

$$\text{Salary} = -4.4 + 2.3(1) + .47(0) + .81(8) + .16(0) = 4.38.$$

As one can see there is a $4,580 difference in salary between the white and Black managers with the same characteristics.

It would be instructive to analyze a Black and white manager who both have a college degree, eight years of work experience at their present firms, and four years of work experience at other firms directly related to their present jobs. The equation for the Black manager would read:

$$\text{Salary} = -4.4 + 2.3(0) + .47(3) + .81(8) + .16(4) = \$12,260.$$

Changing race to 1 which equals whites would give the white manager a salary of $16,720 for a differential of $4,460. The regression equation for the entire sample of Black and white managers clearly indicates that race plays a very important role in the salaries of Blacks. However, this equation masks the fact that job duration, etc., relate differently to the salary levels of Black and white managers. It was thus necessary to run separate regression equations for Blacks and whites.

Again using a one-tailed test at the .01 level for whites and at the .01 level for Blacks the estimate coefficient will be significantly different from zero if the T-score exceeds 2.326. For white managers R^2 (amount of explained variance) was 34 percent and for Blacks 37 percent. The F-score for both equations were significant at the .001(P) level. The two equations follow:

Salary (Blacks Only) = -1.2 + .36(JD) + .48(ED) + .09(OJD)

Salary (Whites Only) = -4.9 + .52(JD) + 1.0(ED) + .31(OJD)

A quick glance at the partial correlation coefficients clearly shows that for a unit change in any of the independent variables means a greater increase in salary for whites than for Blacks.

Inserting the same characteristics which were discussed in the first regression equation, one would get this equation for the Black managers: Salary = -1.2 + .36(0) + .48(8) = .09(0). Thus a Black with a college degree and no work experience would make $9,200.

Inserting the same variables in the equation for the white managers one gets: Salary = -4.9 + .52(0) + 1(8) + .31(0). After doing the necessary calculations, one finds that a white manager would make $10,200. It is clear from the above results that a college degree means about $1,000 more for whites than for Blacks. In addition, 1 unit change in job duration (two years) means an increase of $360 for Black managers and $520 for white managers per year. The white managers would also earn $220 more per year than Black managers for each additional year of work experience in other companies related to the present job.

If the Black and white managers had eight years of work experience at present firm, a college degree, and four years of work experience at other companies, it is obvious that the salary difference will increase between the Black and white managers because job duration and other work experience have a greater impact on the salaries of white managers than on the salaries of Black managers. As the partial correlation coefficients show and as the above examples clearly demonstrate, by substituting the appropriate values in the equations one gets the following equations:

$$\text{Black Manager's Salary} = -1.2 + .36(3) + .48(8) + .09(4) = \$14{,}020$$

$$\text{White Manager's Salary} = -4.9 + .52(3) + 1.0(8) + .31(4) = \$15{,}800$$

The above equations clearly indicate that Blacks with similar education, job experience, and other work experience make less money than their white counterparts and that these salary differences increase as the length of service with present firm and other related work experience increase, i.e., discrimination is greatest among older, experienced managers.

Another manner in which to look at the effect of race, education, job duration and other work experience on the salary of Black and white managers is to use analysis of variance. This will allow the readers to see how much these four individual factors explain the variance in salaries and how significant they are.

When just race and salary were correlated--race as the independent variable and salary as the dependent variable, it was found that race accounted for 24 percent of the variance and this was significant at better than the .01(p) level using an F test with appropriate degrees of freedom. That the sex of the respondents adds explanatory power is noted by the fact that 30 percent of the variance in salary is explained by race and sex; it is also significant at the .01(P) level.

When salary is still the independent variable, but job duration the control variable, only 8 percent of the variance in Black managers' salaries, compared to 26 percent for white managers, is explained by job duration. In addition, the mean salary level of all the white managers with similar job duration as the Black managers is higher except in one case--the two Black managers with 16 + (08) years of service make $17,000, compared to $15,200 for the nine whites with similar job duration. For whites this equation was significant at the .01 level and for Blacks at the .05 level. It should also be noted that the difference between the Black and white managers with less service is much smaller for the first six years, but over that the white managers with similar job duration generally have a mean salary level almost twice that of Black managers while under six years of service it is only about one-third more than that of the Black managers.

After job duration was replaced by education as the independent variable, it was found that education accounted for 29 percent of the variance in the salaries of the Black managers, significant at more than the .01 level. And it accounted for 12 percent of the variance in the salaries of the white managers, significant at the .01 level. Except in the cases of those two Black and three white managers with 15 years of school completed where the mean salary levels were $16,000 and $16,666. At every educational level the Black managers earned less income than their white counterparts with similar educational achievement.

When age is included as a measure of overall work experience, it is found that age accounts for 32 percent of the variance in the salaries of the Black managers and 20 percent of the variance in the salaries of the white managers, both significant at the .01 level. Again in all of the groups the Black managers' mean salary is less than their white counterparts of similar age. The biggest difference between the Black and white managers is between the ages of 31 and 45 and the smallest difference is between those under 30 and those between the ages of 46 and 50. The primary reason for this is that firms are attempting to improve their employment policies for Blacks, thus there is more equitable pay for Blacks who are younger. In addition, many older Black managers have been recently brought in as middle level managers from governmental and social services at fairly decent salaries; therefore, that helps explain the smaller differences in earned salaries between the Black and white managers in the 46-50 age group than for the age group 31-45.

Finally, when work experience in other firms was used as the independent variable, 23 percent of the variance in the Black managers' salaries can be attributed to job duration in other firms; however, this is not statistically significant ($p > .05$).

Because of a "bug" in the program this variable cannot be analyzed for white managers.[26]

In sum: the regression analysis and analysis of variance vividly demonstrate the fact that race is the most powerful factor explaining the present situation of Black managers in white corporations. They also showed that education, work experience in present firm and other related work experience produced more in salary (managerial level) for white managers than for Black managers. However, the data also gave some indication that racial discrimination is decreasing. The next section discusses the managers' views about the opportunities that exist for Blacks today.

The Managers' Overall Views of the Corporate World and Their Firms with Regard to Opportunities for Blacks

Throughout Chapters III and IV and the previous sections of Chapter V, the Black and white managers' responses to numerous questions have been discussed individually. These questions were all directly concerned with the central question: How fair and equal do the managers in these firms view the general white business community's and their firms' employment policies toward Blacks? In order to obtain an overall view of the managers' opinions about the corporate world's and their companies' employment policies towards Blacks indexes were formed of the negative responses of the managers.[27]

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[26] See Appendix C, pp. 559-565, for complete tables on the analysis of variance.

[27] Combining individual questions into an index has a number of advantages. Responses to an individual question are never completely

The questions which make up the index on the managers' overall views of the corporate world are listed below and the responses which would give the respondent a score of one for each question are shown in parentheses. Those managers who did not respond as indicated received no score.

> How do you explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry? (Racial Discrimination)
>
> Are there any reasons why Blacks can't make it in the corporate world? (Yes--Racial Discrimination)
>
> Is being Black a harmful, helpful, or irrelevant factor for promotion in business in general? (Harmful)
>
> Is being white a harmful, helpful, or irrelevant factor for promotion in business in general? (Helpful)

Table 8 shows how many Black and white managers answered negatively to all four of the questions, 3, 2, 1, or none of them.

Table 8 shows that a substantial majority of the white managers and all but one of the Black managers do not believe that business in general has been completely fair in their employment practices toward Black managers. Thus, although there are some variations in responses to the individual questions, overall the managers in these firms hold critical views of the corporate world's commitment to equal employment opportunities for Blacks.

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reliable. The responses can be influenced by such things as the managers' misunderstanding the question, their desire to give the "right" answer, idiosyncratic factors, and the interviewer could record the answer improperly. Therefore, an index measures the general pattern of the managers' responses and thus gives a more valid interpretation of the managers' views.

TABLE 8

THE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THE FAIRNESS OF THE CORPORATE WORLD'S EMPLOYMENT POLICIES TOWARDS BLACKS

Number of Questions Answered Negatively		Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Corporations Are Completely Fair	0	1 %	0 %	16 %	22 %
	1	15	0	23	17
	2	18	30	23	22
	3	34	17	29	26
Corporations Are Extremely Unfair	4	32	53	9	13
Total		100	100	100	100

The questions which were used to form an index on the managers' overall views of their companies' employment policies are listed below and the responses which would give the managers a score of one for each question are shown in parentheses.

> How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? (Responses related to discrimination)
>
> Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because they want to be sure the Blacks will succeed before promoting them? (Yes)
>
> At the present time, how far up the executive ladder do you believe a qualified Black can go in your company? (Lower or Middle Level)
>
> Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in this company. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

> In general, this company is only paying lip-service to the idea of equal employment opportunities for Blacks. (Agree or Strongly Agree)
>
> Is being Black a helpful, harmful, or irrelevant factor for promotion to supervisor and beyond in your firm? (Harmful)
>
> Is being white a helpful, harmful, or irrelevant factor for promotion to supervisor and beyond in your firm? (Helpful)

Table 9 shows that while there are wide varieties of opinions among the Black and white managers, the Black managers, as a group, generally have extremely negative opinions of their companies' employment policies and the white managers have rather position opinions. However, it is significant that only 31 percent of the white managers believe their companies are completely fair in their employment of Blacks.

Talbe 9 also shows, as does Table 8, that overall the Black and white females are more critical of employment policies towards Blacks than their male counterparts.

The most plausible explanation for the more critical views of the Black females is that they have had to face both sexual and racial discrimination. The white females might be more critical of their companies' employment policies because they have suffered sexual discrimination; therefore they sympathize more with the Black situation than the white males.

When age is used as the control variable on the overall index, it becomes quite clear that the younger Black and white managers are much more critical of their companies' employment policies than the older managers. Similar differences occur in

TABLE 9

THE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THE FAIRNESS OF THEIR COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES TOWARDS BLACKS

Number of Questions Answered Negatively		Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Companies Are Completely Fair	0	8 %	0 %	29 %	39 %
	1	3	0	29	22
	2	8	4	17	9
	3	13	9	14	0
	4	11	17	5	17
	5	22	17	3	13
	6	18	23	2	0
Companies Are Extremely Unfair	7	18	30	2	0
Total*		101	100	101	100

*Some of the total percentages are over 100 because of rounding errors.

the managers' views of the corporate world's employment policies towards Blacks.

The difference in the responses of the white managers from various age groups can be attributed in part to the more conservative views of many of the middle and upper level white managers who have benefited from past discriminatory practices and have been successful under such a system. With regard to the Black managers the younger Blacks are more aware of the injustices they face because of their Blackness and are more willing to speak up against these injustices than the older Blacks, many of whom have learned to put up with the "system" and who are probably less critical because they can remember much worse injustices being perpetrated on Black people.

The more educated the Black and white managers are the more likely they are to be critical of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks. This is due to the fact that the more educated Black and white managers are generally younger, but also because more educated people are generally, but not necessarily, more critical and more aware of social injustices than less educated people. Also with regard to the educated Black managers' views, they have the necessary credentials to succeed and their goals and aspirations are not being fulfilled; thus, these managers become more critical and militant. Wilensky supports this position in his "consolation prize" hypothesis:

> An important qualification to my consolation-prize hypothesis concerns education. The most alienated men in my study are Negro High-school graduates on relief; in table after table these men, whose educational opportunities exceed the place allotted to them, are the most diaffected. If educational opportunity whets the appetite for a better life but does not lead to job opportunity and income, it serves less as a compensatory reward than as a source of resentment. Thus, as their educational opportunities exceed their economic rewards and living standards, American Negroes will become more militant. Educated whites already receive roughly congruent rewards and their political discontents are kept within manageable proportions; uneducated whites, if they are unlucky in the labor market, at least have a chance to escape lower ethnic or religious origins or marry up. In countries both rich and poor, cases similar to that of the educated American Negro on relief appear: displaced engineers in the most

> modern sectors of West coast defense industries; rootless "intellectual" proletarians in the modernizing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are long on education but short on job opportunity.[28]

When managerial level is used as the control variable, it is interesting to note that only 30 percent of the white upper level managers believe their firms have completely fair employment policies toward Blacks.

Considering that the younger, female managers are generally lower level managers, it is not surprising that overall the lower level Black and white managers are more critical of their companies' employment policies than the middle and upper level Black and white managers.

When the white managers' overall views of their companies' employment policies are correlated with their frequency of contact with Blacks on-the-job, it is found that generally those white managers who have the most frequent contact with Blacks on-the-job are more likely to have more negative views of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks and those white managers who have the least frequent contact with Blacks on-the-job are more likely to have more positive views.

In addition, the white managers who are involved in personnel, affirmative action, and industrial relations are more critical of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks than the white managers in any other work area.

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[28] H. L. Wilensky, "Measures and Effects of Social Mobility," in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago, 1966), p. 133.

The opinions of the white managers who have the most contact with Blacks on-the-job and the managers who are in personnel, affirmative action, and industrial relations are probably more correct and realistic than those who do not have any contact with Black managers and those who work in other areas.

Another manner in which to compare the responses of the white managers is by their overall contact with Blacks not only at work, but outside of work. Again there is a general tendency for those white managers who have more overall contact with Blacks to have more critical views of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks.

It is also interesting to note at this time that the Black managers who do not believe in integration and assimilation are more critical of their companies' employment policies than those who believe in assimilation.

Table 10 shows the average percentage of the Black and white managers who have overall negative views about the opportunities that exist for Black managers in the corporate world in general and in their firms.

The table also shows that, in general, the Black managers do not see that much difference between the opportunities that exist for Blacks in the corporate world and those that exist in their firms. The white managers, overall, have a much more positive view of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks than those they think exist in the corporate world in general.

TABLE 10

A COMPARISON BETWEEN NEGATIVE VIEWS OF THE CORPORATE WORLD'S AND THE PARTICIPATING COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES TOWARDS BLACKS

Companies	Black Managers (N=116)		White Managers (N=156)	
	Firm	Business	Firm	Business
Ace Public Utility	50 %	80 %	20 %	52 %
Triple A Bank	55	77	19	54
Aunts Manufacturing	61	70	28	65
Cousins Manufacturing	63	70	36	43
Triple C Bank	63	70	13	37
Deuce Public Utility	72	74	21	49
Ajax Manufacturing	77	85	33	58
Century Manufacturing	88	85	8	35
Overall Mean	61	73	21	49

The primary reasons for the white managers' views are: (1) most of the white managers are not ready to criticize a system in which they have made it because by doing so they would be admitting that they have made it in an illegitimate system; (2) another is the old adage that the other guy is unfair but we are not; and (3) loyalty plays a greater role in the white managers' responses than in the Black managers' responses and thus the white managers do not want to degrade their firms' policies. The more realistic views are those regarding the opportunities that exist for Blacks in the corporate world in general and not those regarding the fairness of the white managers' particular companies' employment policies--responses which most directly reflect the bias of favored position.

In sum: A majority of the Black managers plainly believe that their companies do not have sincere, effective Affirmative Action Programs. Initially the vast majority of the white managers indicated that their firms' employment policies are fair for all employees; however, with further probing it was discovered that there were some important inconsistencies in their responses. Only 31 percent of the white managers believe their firms are completely fair to Blacks and only 6 percent of the Black managers concur.

Summary and Conclusions

The data clearly indicate that although 82 percent of the white managers agree with their companies' hiring and promoting policies, 50 percent believe there are unwritten policies which realistically affect employment decisions such as conforming in attitudes, dress, and mannerisms and political influence. In addition, 62 percent of the white managers would change their companies' promotional policies if they had the power to, especially in the area of selection and evaluation procedures.

Only 37 percent of the Black managers agree with their companies' hiring and promoting policies, 75 percent believe there are unwritten policies which realistically affect employment decisions such as conforming in attitudes, dress, and mannerisms, political influence, and racial discrimination, and 85 percent would make promotional changes in their companies' policies if they had the power to, especially in the area of selection and evaluation procedures.

There were three main propositions given by the managers to explain the present situation of Black managers in the corporate world in general. The most important and the most valid reason put forth by the vast majority of the Black managers and a substantial majority of the white managers was the discriminatory proposition which essentially states that Blacks have not made it in the corporate world because they have not been given the opportunities to demonstrate their skills and abilities.

The second most important proposition used primarily by the white managers and by only a small number of Black managers was that Blacks have not made it in the corporate world because they lack the necessary qualifications. It was pointed out that this proposition cannot justify the terrible state of Black managers in white businesses. One reason was the difficulty in determining and evaluating an individual's qualifications. Another reason was that Blacks generally are required to be better qualified than their white counterparts.

The third proposition which was used almost exclusively by the white managers was that Blacks are culturally different; therefore, they would not be able to become successful managers in white dominated corporations. This proposition is the most invalid one of the three primarily because it is used in a racial manner and not in a class manner. It should be noted that it is even questionable if one can correctly use the cultural proposition in a class manner.

The two primary explanations the white managers gave for the incidence of Black managers in their companies were either that their companies have Black managers because the Blacks were qualified for the positions or that their companies do not have many Black managers because they lack the necessary qualifications to merit the positions. The white managers generally did not use racial discrimination as an explanation for the incidence of Black managers in their companies as they did to explain the underutilization of Blacks in the corporate world. The primary explanations the Black managers gave for the incidence of Black managers in their companies were outside pressures from the government, civil rights groups and social groups. Although 82 percent of the white managers agree with their companies' employment policies, primarily because they believe the policies are fair and equitable and 92 percent believe their companies are not paying lip-service to the idea of equal employment opportunities for Blacks, 53 percent of the white managers indicated that Blacks have to be more qualified and/or capable than whites to get ahead in their companies. Only 6 percent of the Black managers and 31 percent of the white managers believe their firms are completely fair with Black managers.

The younger, more educated Black and white managers are more critical of their firms' and the corporate world's employment policies than the older, less educated managers. In addition, the Black and white females are more critical of their companies' employment policies than the males, especially the Black females.

The most important evidence which supports the contention that Blacks are not and were not receiving equal employment opportunities in the participating firms is the regression analysis which shows that just being white adds over $4,000 to the salary of the white managers per year. It also shows that a college education means about $1,000 more per year for white managers than for Black managers, two years of work experience at the present company adds $160 more per year for white managers and outside work experience $220 more per year for white managers.

In concluding, it is quite obvious that real equal employment opportunities for Blacks still do not exist. A vast amount of time, effort, and money have been spent in order to affirm the American myth that people, of any race, creed, color, religion, or national origin, get ahead solely because of their abilities, but little time and effort has been spent to turn that myth into a reality, especially for Blacks.

CHAPTER VI

RACIAL ATMOSPHERE AND COMPLIANCE WITH EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Introduction

As noted in Chapter V, the vast majority of the Black managers and a significant minority of white managers do not believe that real equality of opportunity for Blacks exists in their firms because of racial discrimination in various forms, i.e., overt discrimination, looking for the "right" type of Black, or overqualified Blacks, and being more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees.

Because corporate policies can be changed and distorted through complex networks of social relationships as the policies are applied at lower levels of the occupational hierarchy, any effective Affirmative Action Program will depend a great deal on the attitudes of the white managers who control and run the corporations. If at any level of management the white managers are opposed to the Affirmative Action Programs of their companies, they can in many cases make the programs extremely ineffective in practice, even though the programs may be strong elaborate ones on paper. There must be strong enforcement procedures to create an atmosphere in which these racist attitudes will not lead to discriminatory behaviors. The white managers' attitudes will determine to what extent Black managers are allowed to participate in and receive the benefits of the "psychology of group life." If the whites are generally hostile and if the Blacks are excluded from playing a part in the network of social relationships, this could: (1) hinder the Blacks' job performance and progress by limiting the cooperation and information needed to carry out specific assignments; (2) limit the Blacks' opportunities to make those personal impressions on subordinates, peers, and superiors which are essential for any individual's progress.

Because of the crucial role white attitudes play in providing equal employment opportunities for Blacks, this chapter will be primarily concerned with: (1) the racial atmosphere, i.e., the attitudes, feelings, and remarks of the white employees, which the Black and white managers believe exist and hear in their firms; (2) the racial attitudes of the white managers who participated in this study toward Black people in general and more specifically toward the Black managers in their firms; and (3) the Black and white managers' attitudes about deviating from the formal employment policies of their firms and how they would deviate or have deviated.

The Managers' Views of the Racial Atmosphere

In order to give the reader a concise view of the racial atmosphere which exists in the firms an index was formed consisting of four questions:

> Are you aware of any carryover into the work situation of negative white attitudes towards Blacks?
>
> Would any of your peers and subordinates feel in any way uncomfortable if you hired or promoted someone who was Black into a management position?
>
> Would your immediate superior feel in any way uncomfortable if you hired or promoted someone who was Black into a management position?
>
> Would any of the managers above your immediate superior feel in any way uncomfortable if you hired or promoted someone who was Black into a management position?

A score of one was given for each affirmative response. Those managers who answered none of the questions affirmatively believe the racial atmospheres in their companies are free of any racial hostility, and those managers who answered all four of the questions affirmatively believe the racial atmospheres, in their companies are quite hostile to Blacks. Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of the managers' responses.

This table indicates that a substantial majority of the Black and white managers are aware of negative racial attitudes and/or uncomfortable feelings towards Blacks. Only 20 percent of the managers in this study, both Blacks and whites, believe they are working in an area where at least some whites do not seem to have any negative racial attitudes.[1]

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[1] If the white managers' responses to the question: "Do you hear derogatory remarks about Blacks in your company?" was included in the index, only 17 percent of the white managers believe their firms are free of negative racial attitudes. Also of interest is that 47 percent of the upper level white managers indicated that they hear derogatory remarks about Blacks from their

TABLE 1

THE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THE RACIAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE PARTICIPATING COMPANIES

Number of Questions Answered Affirmatively		Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
No Racial Hostility	0	10 %	9 %	27 %	31 %
	1	25	17	28	39
	2	25	35	33	13
	3	24	26	12	13
Extreme Racial Hostility	4	16	13	0	4
Total		100	100	100	100

When managerial level is used as the control variable, it becomes evident that the upper level white managers are more aware of negative racial atmospheres in their companies than the middle and lower level white managers: 17 percent of the upper level white managers, 32 percent of the middle level white managers, and 29 percent of the lower level white managers answered none of the questions affirmatively.

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peers and 30 percent hear them from their superiors. These derogatory remarks about Blacks are not limited to lower levels of management. Only 50 percent of the white managers who hear derogatory remarks about Blacks express their dislike for such remarks to their peers and subordinates and only 20 percent to their superiors. Those who do not express their dislike for such remarks generally believe individuals are entitled to their opinions.

With regard to the differences in the Black managers' responses, the lower level managers are more aware of a negative racial atmosphere than the middle level managers. Twenty-nine percent of the lower level Black managers, compared to 44 percent of the middle level Black managers, answered only one or none of the four questions affirmatively. This is due primarily to the age differences of the managers: 22 percent of the Black managers under 30, 36 percent between the ages of 31 and 40, and 56 percent over 40 answered none or only one of the questions affirmatively.

In order to discuss the attitudinal differences by company, the average responses of the Black and white managers from each company will be used. The first two columns in Table 2 show the average responses to the questions about negative attitudes and uncomfortable feelings of only peers and subordinates. The third column shows the white managers' average responses to the two previous questions plus the question regarding derogatory remarks.

Table 3 shows the average responses of the managers to the questions about negative attitudes, the uncomfortable feelings of peers and subordinates, and also the uncomfortable feelings of their superiors and their superiors' bosses.

If one considers the companies' Affirmative Action Programs and the managers' views of the racial atmosphere in their companies, some interesting facts become apparent. For example, in the case of Ace Public Utility it seems that some Black managers believe that while whites hold racist attitudes some are not able to translate these feelings into actions because their

TABLE 2

THE MANAGERS' VIEWS OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AMONG THEIR PEERS AND SUBORDINATES

Companies	Black Managers	White Managers	White Managers (Includes Derogatory Remark Responses)
Triple C Bank	60 %	45 %	43 %
Cousins Manufacturing	62	50	57
Aunts Manufacturing	71	57	56
Ace Public Utility	73	57	56
Deuce Public Utility	73	53	57
Triple A Bank	74	71	67
Ajax Manufacturing	83	64	69
Century Manufacturing	100	54	58
Overall Mean	69	55	56

TABLE 3

THE MANAGERS' VIEWS OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AMONG THEIR PEERS, SUBORDINATES, SUPERIORS, AND SUPERIORS' BOSSES

Companies	Black Managers	White Managers	White Managers (Includes Derogatory Remark Responses)
Triple C Bank	47 %	26 %	29 %
Cousins Manufacturing	48	30	37
Ace Public Utility	51	31	36
Triple A Bank	54	46	47
Aunts Manufacturing	57	34	38
Deuce Public Utility	60	32	37
Ajax Manufacturing	66	37	45
Century Manufacturing	75	30	37
Overall Mean	53	32	38

company's emphasis on equal employment opportunities has created an atmosphere in which it is more difficult for them to discriminate against Blacks. This view is not held by the Black managers in many of the other companies but it is held by most white managers

Another interesting finding is that good affirmative action might sharpen conflicts and increase racial hostilities in the short run. This is demonstrated by the Black and white managers' responses, in Ace Public Utility, Triple A Bank, and Ajax Manufacturing. In Chapter III (especially in Table 2), it was pointed out that Black employees in these companies have pressured them into taking concrete steps to improve Black jobs and advancement opportunities.

A final interesting finding is that Ace Public Utility and Triple A Bank recorded the greatest percentage decrease in the Black managers' responses to the questions regarding the general negative racial atmospheres which exist in their firms when the questions about their superiors and superiors' superiors were averaged in to obtain the overall racial atmosphere. This is testimony to the greater confidence these Black managers have in their upper level managers than those in the other companies have in theirs. The decrease is smallest in Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility whose Affirmative Action Programs leave something to be desired and whose Black managers believe there is a great deal of resistance to equal employment opportunities in the upper level of management.[2]

The following are personal experiences some of the managers have had to become aware of derogatory remarks, negative attitudes, and feelings of whites about Blacks in their companies. These experiences indicate the psychological problems which racism has created in the white population.

A white upper level manager from Aunts Manufacturing:

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[2] One out of three of the Black managers either believe their immediate superiors have racial attitudes which would make them feel uncomfortable about Blacks being in management positions or they are not certain about their immediate superiors' attitudes.

"The people who work for me have prejudiced attitudes and I talk to them about it. You run into it (prejudiced attitudes) in the same percentage in the company as you do on the streets."

The most frequent type of attitude the managers are personally aware of is the stereotype belief that Blacks are lazy, dumb, slow, etc.

For example, a white lower level manager from Triple C Bank said, "Many whites who claim they are not prejudiced frequently say that Blacks are slow, but they never say that about other whites."

A Black lower level manager from Ace Public Utility put it this way: "Being Black you have to do things four times better than a Caucasian. Still some of my peers express the opinion that because I am Black I am not as smart as them (whites)."

The following is the experience of an upper level white manager from Triple A Bank: "Some of my white subordinates treat Blacks badly. They are very curt with them and do not take the time to explain things to them because they assume they are too dumb to learn."

A white middle level manager from the same company: "Blacks are stereotyped as being lazy. When people are looking for a reason to find fault they will use anything."

And finally, a Black lower level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "People express the belief that Blacks are not able to qualify for top positions and that Blacks should work hard like Jackie Robinson to get what they want. Some of my co-workers believe that Blacks eat watermelon with their hands and have loose morals."

The second most frequently mentioned response related to the managers' experiences of hearing whites express negative attitudes about Blacks being given better opportunities than whites. In other words, these whites believe that reverse discrimination is taking place and they dislike it. Chapter V showed without a doubt that whites are still given tremendous advantages over Blacks.

Some of the representative statements of this attitude are:

A Black lower level manager from Deuce Public Utility: "In my department you hear whites say that Blacks are taking over. You also hear whites say that they dislike militant Blacks or Blacks that come on too strong. They always say Blacks do not do their jobs correctly or they don't have the ability."

A lower level Black manager from Triple A Bank put it this way: "I hear the old sayings like 'we don't see why you niggers want so much' or 'you Blacks are getting all the breaks.'"

A white middle level manager and a white lower level manager from Cousins Manufacturing made these statements: "I hear comments about reverse discrimination, caustic comments about the term Black is Beautiful, and comments about the toughness of getting jobs for whites in the labor market because of Blacks. There is hostility and resentment among the whites. I hear whites complain about being forced into situations in which they have to hire Blacks who cannot do the job. You also hear remarks that until the welfare system came, people had to be concerned about their superiors' opinions."

Another frequent type of response by the white and Black managers was that some white managers have said openly that they do not want Black employees in their departments or that they will not work with them and/or they will not promote them.

A white lower level manager in Ace Public Utility said, "I have associates who are definitely prejudiced. They would not promote a Black person."

A white middle level personnel manager from Cousins Manufacturing said he has received requests by some of the white managers not to send them any more Blacks: "There are pressures on Personnel people to come up with a balance in the rate of candidates--in other words some of the white managers say 'please send us some whites too.'"

A Black lower level manager from the same company supported the white manager's experiences: "One white manager in lower level sent a written memo to Personnel saying that he didn't want any more Blacks in his department because they were lazy and didn't want to work. The situation is manifested by each department--they say they have their quotas and don't want any more."

Some of the Black managers indicated that their relationships with their superiors and/or subordinates are hindered because of the white employees' negative attitudes about Blacks. For example, two Black lower level managers from Triple A Bank related these experiences: "One employee wouldn't talk to me even though it was his job." The other manager said: "When I first got here, even though I was an Assistant Manager, my authority was questioned by my subordinates."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing had a similar experience: "When I became an Accountant Supervisor my boss did not introduce me to anyone in the department and he did not assist me in any way."

A final response by a Black manager gives some insight into what conversations go on among whites: "Because most people believe I am white (he has light skin, straight hair, and blue eyes), they express all types of negative attitudes about Blacks to me; however, when I disagree with them and point out that I am Black they don't know how to act or what to say. They usually say that they really didn't mean what they said and that they have colored friends, went to school with them, etc."

A. Summary and conclusions of the managers' views of the racial atmosphere

This section has shown that a majority of the white and Black managers believe that many whites in their firms possess negative racial attitudes and feelings about Blacks and that many whites express these feelings and attitudes. It was pointed out that the upper level white managers are more aware of negative racial atmospheres in their firms than the lower level managers and the lower more so than the middle level managers.

A possible explanation for this is that many of the senior levels of management have been made more sensitive by governmental and civil rights pressures of the need to correct past discriminatory policies; thus, they are more aware of the difficulties created by negative white attitudes and feelings in their attempts to formulate and implement their AAPs. In addition, they are better educated and more politically aware. A probable explanation for the middle level managers' lack of awareness of a negative racial atmosphere in their companies is that they are the most isolated group of white managers because there are few Blacks at that level, compared to the lower level, and they are isolated from the governmental and civil rights pressures. Thus, competition from Black managers, supervising Blacks, and being continuously pressured from internal and external groups to improve the employment of Blacks which bring out into the open such remarks, attitudes, and feelings, are less in the middle levels of management than in the other levels of management.

It was also pointed out that the younger Black managers are much more aware of an anti-Black atmosphere in their companies than the older Black managers. An explanation for this difference is that the younger Black managers have been brought up in an atmosphere of more intense Black pride and racial awareness than the older Black managers. This makes them more sensitive to negative white attitudes and more willing to be critical of them than many of the older Black managers who have had more difficult times in the corporate world and in white society in general. These older Black managers probably have become immune to negative white attitudes and/or believe things have improved to such a degree that the negative white attitudes that presently exist are nothing compared to past attitudes; therefore, they do not believe these attitudes exist sufficiently to say they are aware of them.

Another important finding in this section is that many managers, especially the white managers, believe that negative racial attitudes of whites are not translated into negative behavior toward Black employees. This position would be more acceptable if the firms all had strong, well-developed AAPs with appropriate implementation, compliance, and disciplinary procedures, which would assure that white managers who hold racist attitudes will not translate those attitudes into discriminatory behavior against Blacks. This is not the case; thus the consequences of such attitudes can only mean that the firms' AAPs will be distorted, revised, and/or not carried out.

Kenneth Clark makes several significant points about white racial attitudes:

> In a society, it can become fashionable to dislike some group of people for various reasons: "Everyone else dislikes Jews and Negroes. I can't be different. I must dislike them, too. If I don't, my friends will reduce me somewhat to the status of these disliked people." In time, these ideas and attitudes become ingrained in the individual, accepted as a normal, natural way of life, and become more and more intense in motivational value. They become an aspect of life style, enmeshed in status, privileges and personal aspirations. Any attempted change in this pattern of racial habit appears as a definite threat to the individual and to the group from which he obtains his subjective, if not actual, stability.
>
> Rarely, it appears, can one view this problem in terms unencumbered by the dominant and subtle tendencies and racial attitudes of American background and culture. When an individual does appear to have succeeded in freeing himself from these attitudinal and behavioral determinations, it is quite likely that he

> will lose his status or have his prestige or power modified in the white group. In order to regain it, he must make concessions, however subtle, in the direction of the crystallized pattern of racial attitudes. Few personalities are able to withstand these permeating pressures.[3]

Another consequence of such racial attitudes is that the Black managers will be excluded and will not be able to benefit from the informal work networks which play very important roles in a manager's success and job performance. In addition, because of such racial attitudes, Blacks will be excluded from the social networks outside of work which are also very important for success in business.

The White Managers' Personal Opinions About Blacks

The previous section discussed the white managers' opinions about other white employees' racial attitudes, feelings and remarks about Blacks. This section will discuss their own personal views and attitudes about Blacks. One would expect the white managers to be more willing to admit that other employees have negative racial attitudes and feelings than themselves; therefore, one would expect a smaller percentage of white managers admitting and/or expressing negative racial attitudes about Blacks. Yet it will be seen that only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not make any negative racial comments about Blacks and/or agree to any such statements.

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[3] Kenneth B. Clark, "A Psychologist Looks at Discrimination Patterns," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, Jan., 1972, p. 34.

One manner in which the managers' racial views were solicited was to ask them their degree of agreement with a number of stereotype statements about Blacks. The frequency distribution of the responses to each of the five stereotype statements is shown at the end of each statement in Table 4.

Quinn, et al. indicated in their study, using almost the same stereotype questions about Jews, that if a person was absolutely not in agreement with any of the questions they would strongly disagree. As can be seen by the managers' responses, the intensity of their disagreement falls short of what one would expect of whites who are completely free of negative racial attitudes.[4]

The overall percent of white managers who agree with each statement is quite small; however, almost one in three agree with at least one of the statements.

What is interesting about these responses is that 46 of those managers who agreed with at least one of the statements are male and only one female agreed with one of the statements. This supports the general contention that white females do not hold as many or as strong negative racial attitudes as white males.

If one considers a manager who agrees that he/she could hardly imagine himself/herself marrying a Black as having a racist attitude and if it is included with the previous five questions

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[4] See Quinn, et al., p. 8.

TABLE 4

THE WHITE MANAGERS' DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH NEGATIVE STEREOTYPE STATEMENTS ABOUT BLACKS

Stereotype Statement About Blacks	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Other
There may be a few exceptions, but in general Blacks are pretty much alike.	39 %	54 %	5 %	1 %	1 %
Even though there are some exceptions, most Blacks have annoying and offensive faults.	29	67	3	1	0
Most Blacks who aspire to become managers in the business world do not have the personal characteristics needed to become successful management persons in this company.	24	64	10	2	0
In general, Blacks have low I.Q.'s and less technical and analytical competence.	26	57	15	2	0
In general, Blacks are pushy, loud, argumentative, arrogant, obnoxious, and aggressive.	33	63	4	0	0

in a new index, three out of four of the white managers agree with at least one of these statements. See Table 5 for the frequency distribution.

TABLE 5

INDEX OF WHITE MANAGERS WHO AGREED WITH NEGATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT BLACKS

Number of Questions Agreed With		Percent of White Managers Who Agreed
No Negative Views of Blacks	0	24 %
	1	51
	2	17
	3	6
Extreme Negative Views of Blacks	4	2
Total		100

When various variables are controlled for, it is found that the manager most likely to hold these negative stereotype attitudes about Blacks is a white, middle/upper level male, with limited education, over 40, and has contact with Blacks only at work and/or civic and/or business organizations. These characteristics describe many of the managers who are in responsible, influential and powerful positions in these firms.

The previous questions dealt with general stereotypes which one frequently hears about Blacks in our society. The next question attempts to evaluate the white managers' opinions about Black people's fight for equality. The primary reason for including this type of question is that there is a general belief among many white Americans that Blacks are pushing too hard and too fast for equality. Since this attitude, if possessed by many white managers in the corporate world, could seriously affect the opportunities available for Blacks in their firms, it is important to find out how prevalent this attitude is among the white managers in the participating firms. The specific question the managers were asked was: Do you believe that Blacks are pressing their case too hard? Forty-four percent of the white males and 30 percent of the white females answered affirmatively. Younger, more educated, white managers are less likely than older, less educated white managers to believe that Blacks are pressing their case too hard.

Thirty percent of the white managers who believe that Blacks are pressing too hard qualified their statements by saying they believe the militants are pressing too hard but the moderates are not. Here the problem arises in defining who are moderates and who are militants. Some managers might believe someone who peacefully pickets a company is a moderate; however, if their company is the subject of the picketing they might believe the person is a militant. In addition, a non-militant Black to many whites might be a Black who always agrees with the whites.

Several of the other reasons the white managers believe Blacks are pressing too hard are as follows: 17 percent believe

Blacks are pressing too hard because of the violent tactics they sometimes use; 21 percent believe that Blacks are too impatient and they want everything now; and 14 percent believe that Blacks just want things because they are Black. The white managers who gave these last two reasons definitely will have problems dealing with Black employees.

Some of the white managers' typical responses to why they believe Blacks are pressing too hard follow:

A white lower level manager from Triple C Bank replied: "They are going overboard. They had the riots and got the attention they wanted. Now Blacks are demanding respect and that's one thing you can't demand. You have to work for it."

A white lower level manager from Ajax Manufacturing: "I believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard in the educational area. I believe money is being wasted on Black Studies. We are being forced to educate them all at once."

Another white manager from the same company: "Blacks have more publicity on T.V. and in the papers than whites. White political leaders are taking advantage of the Black vote. The government should not force industry to hire Blacks.".

A white bank manager who is located in a predominantly Black neighborhood: "I am called all types of names because I won't give someone a loan and I'm threatened. I have changed my policy because of the large losses--now I won't cash checks for non-depositors. This bank has been bombed five times."

A white middle level manager from Triple A Bank made a statement which shows white peoples' ignorance of Black people and the Black movement and thus a tendency to distort the truth: "The militants are pressing too hard and the non-militants are not. Some organizations that are trying to improve the Black man's image are pushing too hard like the Muslims. The only image I have of the Muslims is what I read in the newspaper and see on television. Even though I don't know much about them I have a negative image because I see how they have located themselves in houses with big gun arsenals." The fact of the matter is that the Black Muslims have clearly adopted many aspects of the Protestant ethic. In fact last year they received a $20 million loan from several white banks to continue in their business endeavors.

Another white lower level manager from Triple C Bank: "The extreme groups are pressing too hard--they feel that just because they are a minority race they should be given everything whether they are qualified or not. They don't want to work for it."

Ambivalent feelings were expressed by an upper level white manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "There is ample evidence that equality is not achieved through evolution. Human nature must be pushed. But I don't agree with all the tactics."

Finally, a white middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility: "When the Blacks are criticized they will yell discrimination--they will use it even if it's not there. The company is guilty even before they are proven innocent." This manager's statement is representative of the feelings of a substantial minority of the white managers. Even though they did not indicate it as a reason why they believe Blacks are pressing too hard, they did indicate their agreement with this manager's position when they were asked to what degree they agreed with the following statement: A Black once promoted could not be demoted even if inadequate in his new role without undeserved charges of discrimination. One out of three agree and only one out of ten strongly disagree.

When the white managers' contact with Blacks on-the-job was correlated with their responses to the statement about undeserved charges of discrimination, there were no great differences in responses between the managers who had very frequent, fairly frequent, not very frequent, and no contact at all with Blacks on-the-job. What can be concluded from this is that even though many of the white managers do not have much contact with Blacks on-the-job--and therefore cannot base their responses on personal experiences--they believe that Blacks cry discrimination frequently and unjustifiably. There is further support for this argument when the white managers' overall contact with Blacks at work, at organizations, and social activities is correlated with their responses to the statement about undeserved charges of discrimination. The data clearly show that white managers who have no contact with Blacks at all are more likely to agree with the statement than those who have a great deal of contact with Blacks.

In short, many whites who agree with this statement do so without any personal experiences; it is simply conjecture on their part. This of course leads to the problem that they will, if put in the situation, never look closely at legitimate Black complaints.

Going back to the question about Blacks pressing too hard, many of those white managers who do not think that Blacks are pressing their case too hard gave reasons that are quite similar to those that the white managers gave who think that Blacks are pressing too hard. For example, 37 percent believe that in general Blacks are not pressing too hard but that the militant Blacks are. Another 10 percent believe that Blacks are pressing too hard when they use violent tactics. However, 17 percent of the white managers said that if Blacks do not pressure white society there will be no change.

As one white manager from Ajax Manufacturing said: "I think about the Indians who are being peaceful and not getting anywhere, so Blacks would not be getting anywhere if they were not pressing . . . ."

Thus far in this section two main areas have been reviewed--the white managers' agreement with several stereotype attitudes about Blacks and their attitudes about Black peoples' efforts to achieve equality. The white managers' responses to an open-ended question which gave them the freedom to express their feelings about the Black managers with whom they have had direct contact will now be reviewed. The managers were asked: What are some of the good and bad characteristics you have observed about Black managers?

More than one out of five of the managers could not answer this question because they have had very little or no contact with Black managers. Another one out of five said that there are no outstanding good or bad characteristics which they have observed about Black managers which they have not observed about white managers.

The most frequently mentioned good characteristics are: Black managers try harder to get along with and understand people and Blacks are hard workers, dedicated, confident, and ambitious.

Ferman in his study also found that white managers do praise Black managers. He wrote:

> The greatest satisfaction was expressed with Negroes in technical or professional employment. Frequently, their performance was described as "above average," and they were "able to hold their own."[5]

With regard to bad characteristics, the white managers generally expressed the old stereotype attitudes such as Blacks are arrogant and aggressive, yet they are lazy and not dependable, lack confidence, and are culturally different.

Table 6 shows the good characteristics of Black managers mentioned by the white managers and Table 7 the bad characteristics.

Some of the white managers' responses are:

A white middle level manager from Triple A Bank: "They have an above-it-all attitude. They do have the technical ability to do their jobs and some of the best Blacks have a practical approach to the problems of business."

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[5] Ferman, p. 73.

TABLE 6

GOOD CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK MANAGERS

Good Characteristics	Percent of White Managers Observing these Characteristics (N=156)
Blacks are nicer to people than are whites; they have a greater understanding of people; they try harder to get along with people.	28 %
Blacks are dedicated, confident, ambitious; they try extremely hard; they have a high motivation; they have a genuine interest to really want to succeed and show the world they have what it takes.	27
Can't answer; doesn't work with Black managers or has very little contact with Black managers.	22
No difference; there are no outstanding good or bad characteristics that the respondent hasn't observed in white managers.	21
No general good characteristics observed about Black managers, but they do have some bad characteristics.	5
Most Blacks are slightly better qualified.	3
Blacks have firm characters and are good decision makers; they have good judgment.	3
Blacks are fairer with people.	3
Other	4
Total*	116

*The total percent is over 100 because the managers could give as many good characteristics as they wished.

TABLE 7

BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK MANAGERS

Bad Characteristics	Percent of White Managers Observing these Characteristics (N=156)
No general bad characteristics observed about Black managers, but they do have some good characteristics.	17 %
Blacks are too independent, arrogant, and aggressive; they have a chip on their shoulder attitude; too impatient.	8
Blacks tend to back away from confrontations with both Black and white employees; Blacks lack assurance and confidence.	7
Blacks take advantage of their Blackness in the work situation, i.e., they blame everything on race.	6
Blacks have a lazy attitude; they are not dependable or reliable; they are late and never return calls.	5
Blacks have a different culture, i.e., language, life-style, values, attitudes, personality, etc.	5
Blacks are less likely to express legitimate complaints because they fear whites will think they are too sensitive.	1
Blacks tend to test whites when they really don't have to.	1
Blacks are slow learners.	1
Other	11
Total*	62

*The total percentage does not equal 100 because not all of the white managers believe Black managers have bad characteristics and some believe they have more than one.

With regard to Blacks working hard and trying hard, a white middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "They are trying exceptionally hard to be exceptionally good managers. Blacks try harder than most of their white peers. They know they have a tougher road--this is more of an incentive. I know of no bad characteristics."

An upper level manager from the same company: "Blacks tend to back down in confrontations. Their Blackness gets in the way of their courage and convictions. Some of their good characteristics are honesty, cheerfulness, humility, and sensitivity."

A white middle level manager from Aunts Manufacturing mentioned these conflicting characteristics: "In some cases an over-awareness of being Black, therefore they are less confident in making decisions or, on the other hand, an over-arrogance because they are Black."

A white upper level manager from Triple C Bank made these comments: "They have a genuine interest to want to succeed to show the world they have what it takes. They understand each other better than whites understand each other. They are reluctant to face distasteful situations--they don't want to counsel bad employees. They are a little less profit motivated."

Finally, a white middle level manager from Triple A Bank observed: "They can relate to the Black community like no one else can. The young Blacks won't talk to me. Some of the Black managers feel that they don't have to produce because they are Black and the company will promote them anyway."

Overall White Racist Attitudes

Up to this point, the managers have had the opportunity to discuss their views of Black people directly and indirectly in such questions as: How do you explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry?, and How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? In order to check the managers' overall racial attitudes, an overall racial index was formed. The index included fourteen questions which either directly or indirectly allowed the managers to express racial attitudes. The questions and responses required to receive a score of one follow:

How do you explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry? (Negative stereotype responses)

How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? (Negative stereotype responses)

Why Blacks can or cannot make it in the corporate world today. (Negative stereotype responses)

Why Blacks are pressing too hard. (Negative stereotype responses)

A Black, once promoted, could not be demoted, even if inadequate in his new role, without undeserved charges of discrimination. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

There may be a few exceptions, but in general Blacks are pretty much alike. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Black. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

Even though there are some exceptions, most Blacks have annoying and offensive faults. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

I probably would not choose a Black person for promotion if an equally qualified non-Black were available. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

> In general, I am reluctant to hire and promote Blacks into important management positions. (Agree or Strongly Agree)
>
> Most Blacks who aspire to become managers in the business world do not have the personal characteristics needed to become successful management persons in this company. (Agree or Strongly Agree)
>
> In general, Blacks have low I.Q.'s and less technical and analytical competence. (Agree or Strongly Agree)
>
> In general, Blacks are pushy, loud, argumentative, arrogant, obnoxious, and aggressive. (Agree or Strongly Agree)
>
> What are some of the bad characteristics you have observed about Black managers? (Negative stereotype responses)

The responses of the white managers by sex are shown in Table 8.

Although there were fourteen questions which allowed the managers to express racial attitudes about Blacks--nine of the questions specifically related to soliciting such attitudes and five which did not specifically seek out racial attitudes--none of the managers responded negatively to more than ten. Because only two of the white managers expressed racist attitudes on seven or more of the questions, one should not consider that in general the white managers have favorable views toward Blacks. If this index is compared to the index of six stereotype statements about Blacks, it becomes clear that the white managers are less likely to agree with direct stereotype questions about Blacks and more likely to express stereotype remarks to open-ended questions.

Only 9 percent of the white managers did not express or agree with any racist remarks about Blacks. If the question

TABLE 8

WHITE MANAGERS' OVERALL RACIAL ATTITUDES

Number of Anti-Black Responses		White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)	Total (N=156)
No Anti-Black Responses	0	8 %	13 %	9 %
	1	20	17	20
	2	25	44	27
	3	23	17	22
	4	8	9	8
	5	8	0	7
	6	6	0	5
	7	1	0	1
Extreme Anti-Black Responses	10	1	0	1
Total		100	100	100

regarding marrying a Black is taken out of the index, 19 percent of the white managers did not express some type of racist attitudes about Blacks. Table 8 also shows that the white females have less racist attitudes than the white males.

Whether the managers expressed racist views or not did not appear to depend on the race of the interviewer. For example, 28 percent of the white managers interviewed by the writer, 31 percent interviewed by the white female interviewer, and 29 percent interviewed by the white male interviewer scored 0-1. In addition, all the interviewers had approximately 20 percent of the white managers scoring 4-10.

The index of the six questions specifically looking at negative racial attitudes of the white managers which was discussed in the first part of this section indicated that the less educated white, middle/upper level male managers over 40 who had some contact with Blacks held the most racist attitudes.[6] Would these characteristics still describe the typical managers with the most racist attitudes when eight more questions are added to the index?

Although there is wide variation in each age group, the younger managers tend to express the least negative racial attitudes. Forty-four percent of the managers 30 or younger scored 0-1, compared to 35 percent of the managers between the ages of 31 and 40 and 26 percent between the ages of 41 and 50. None of the managers over 50 scored 0 and only 16 percent scored 1.

While there is a tendency in the first index of six questions that the more educated managers are least likely to agree with direct steroetype questions about Blacks, there is no clear tendency in the index presently under discussion.

It seems that while educated white managers are less likely to agree with direct stereotype questions about Blacks, they are more likely to make negative stereotype statements about

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[6] Family origins did not seem to have any relationship to the managers' racial attitudes. This finding was supported by Angus Campbell. See Campbell, p. 53.

Blacks in open-ended questions, which allow them to justify their responses.

When managerial level is used as the control variable, it becomes obvious that there are white managers who have racist attitudes in every managerial level. Even though the managers in the top level of management represent less than 20 percent of our sample, they make up 40 percent of those ten white managers with the most extreme racist attitudes (score 6-10). Furthermore, only 3 percent of the top managers did not express some type of racist attitude, compared to 9 percent of the middle level managers and 13 percent of the lower level managers.

Because an unequal number of upper level managers were interviewed from each company, it should be remembered that the upper level management views generally are those from Ace Public Utility, Triple A and C Banks, and Aunts Manufacturing. No great differences occur in the racial attitudes of the upper level managers from the various companies; however, the upper level managers in Ace Public Utility scored just slightly lower on the racial index. As noted earlier, this might be an indication that although some managers harbor negative racial attitudes, if there are continuous forceful external and/or internal pressures on the managers to practice equal employment opportunities their racial views might not greatly affect their treatment of Black managers.

When the index on the white managers' frequency of contact with Blacks is correlated with the index on racist attitudes, it is found that the white managers with a great deal of contact with

Blacks are more likely to have positive racial attitudes than those white managers with no contact at all and those white managers with no contact at all are more likely to have positive racial attitudes than those white managers with only little contact with Blacks, which is generally at work. This point should not be exaggerated: Many of those white managers who have a great deal of contact with Blacks do hold racist attitudes. They are generally less strongly held than the racist attitudes of those white managers who have little or no contact with Blacks. Campbell provides consistent evidence from a national sample:

> Although this relationship is sizable, it is apparent that many white people have attitudes toward racial integration which have no relation to their own interracial contacts. It is particularly impressive that a substantial number of those people who claim to have had Negro friends respond negatively to our proposals of various forms of contact with Negroes. Assuming these friendships to be real, they seem to be regarded by these people as purely idiosyncratic, having no relevance to the larger issue of interracial contact.[7]

Thus, business executives and government officials should not believe that all they have to do is expose their white employees to Blacks and their white employees will develop positive attitudes toward Blacks. Contact with Blacks can either produce better or worse attitudes among whites, depending on the circumstances.

Interestingly, those managers who consider themselves liberals are generally less racist than those who consider themselves

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[7] Campbell, p. 10.

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moderates and the moderates are less racist than the conservatives. Because of the fact that Democrats generally consider themselves more liberal or moderate than Republicans, it is not surprising that they are less racist than Republicans. The eight white managers who consider themselves Independents are even less racist than the Democrats.

A careful review of the interview schedules of those fourteen white managers who expressed no negative racial attitudes and those ten white managers who expressed the most negative racial attitudes produces no general characteristics which could distinguish either group. The only fact which appears is that those white managers with less racist attitudes are generally more confident about their chances of achieving their desired career goals than those white managers who expressed the most racist attitudes.

A. Summary and conclusions of the overall white racist attitudes

This section has illustrated that only one out of ten of the white managers in this study do not possess any negative racial attitudes about Blacks. Although white managers of all ages, educational levels, managerial levels, and sexes hold racist attitudes, the most racist views are concentrated among the white, middle/upper level male managers, over 40, who are very religious,[8] and who have little contact with Blacks. Campbell supports this:

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[8] In Chapter II it was pointed out that the most religious managers generally hold the most racist attitudes.

> From this array of questions and answers we see something of the general configuration of white attitudes in the cities. It is apparent that the white population varies greatly in its feelings about race and that no "typical" person can be identified who might be said to represent the total. The safest conclusion we can draw from the distributions we have presented is that white Americans in the cities are not predominantly located at either extreme of our scales of racial atiitudes. . . . In between are those numerous people whose perceptions are attitudes are ambiguous and conflicted, who are variously fair-minded, apprehensive, resentful, defensive, ill-informed, and indifferent.[9]

How the Managers Deviate from the Formal Policies of Their Companies

Keeping in mind the white managers' racial attitudes and the complaints which both the Black and white managers have about their companies' employment policies, it would be of interest to see what, if any, relationships exist between these views and attitudes and the manner in which the managers deviate from the formal policies of their companies.

The vast majority of the Black and white managers believe Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone else.

There is a subtle difference between the interpretations of the Black and white managers who agree that Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone else. The Black managers are essentially saying that all they want are equal opportunities and they will be able to make it, while the white managers are essentially saying that Blacks should not be given any advantages--in other words, they oppose reverse discrimination. As has been noted before, since whites are so used to having the advantage, they might believe any movement towards equal opportunities is reverse discrimination.

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[9] Campbell, p. 19.

All of the Black and white managers, about one in five, who disagreed said they would give advantages to the Blacks until they have "caught up" with the whites.

Although one out of eight of the white managers said they believe Blacks should be promoted on the same basis as everyone else, they indicated that either they would not promote an equally qualified Black, if an equally qualified white were available, or they would not promote a Black into an important management position.

Anticipating the fact that there would be a general belief among the managers that everyone should be promoted on the same basis, an attempt was made to try to determine which other factors, if any, the managers would consider when evaluating the promotability of a management candidate besides lack of experience and job knowledge. Table 9 shows the managers' responses to the following question: What are the kinds of things about a management candidate that might make you hesitate to hire or promote him/her, other than his/her lack of experience and job knowledge?

Only 10 percent of the Black managers and 5 percent of the white managers indicated all they would look for is experience and job knowledge. There is general agreement among the Black and white managers that an individual should be able to relate and get

TABLE 9

THINGS ABOUT A MANAGEMENT CANDIDATE THAT MIGHT MAKE THE MANAGERS HESITATE TO HIRE OR PROMOTE HIM/HER OTHER THAN HIS/HER LACK OF EXPERIENCE AND JOB KNOWLEDGE

Things Managers Consider Detrimental to Hiring and Promoting Opportunities	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Lack of ability to relate and get along with people	56 %	55 %
Lack of hard work, resourcefulness, initiative, ambition, aggressiveness, etc.	26	30
Lack of leadership ability and/or good judgment	17	23
Lack of personal hygiene and neatness	9	7
Lack of self confidence	6	3
Lack of maturity, stability, responsibility	6	1
Lack of loyalty, commitment, or identification with the company	5	15
Lack of respect for minorities, i.e., bigotry, racism, prejudice	5	2
Lack of ability to express oneself verbally and written	4	6
Over-aggressiveness, too arrogant, cocky, too militant, chip on shoulder attitude, etc.	4	9
Lack of conformity to a conservative appearance, i.e., long hair, beards, loud dress, etc.	3	5
Lack of honesty, integrity, ethics, sincerity, morality, etc.	3	5
Other	3	3
None	11	5
Total*	158	169

*The total percentages are over 100 because many managers gave more than one response.

along with people, have written and verbal skills, be a hard, resourceful, ambitious worker, be neat and clean, wear "proper" dress, have leadership ability and good judgment, and have confidence. There are large differences on such things as company loyalty and attitudes. The previous responses suggest that many factors other than qualifications, i.e., specific job knowledge and work experience, are taken into consideration when an individual is being evaluated for a managerial position.

While many of the above factors such as leadership, ambition, initiative, and ability to get along with people are essential for success in some positions in the business world, the problem arises when one attempts to decide how such criteria can be rationally and objectively evaluated. It is extremely difficult to determine how essential factors such as conformity in dress and attitudes are to perform a job well.

Even though the companies have written employment policies, many Black and white managers feel they can freely deviate from their companies' policies but only about one-third of them actually do.

The primary manner in which the Black managers deviate from the policies is that they overlook work experience (seniority) if the individual has the educational background and/or initiative and drive. This would be expected since the seniority system is the most frequent change the Black managers would make in their companies' promoting policies. The primary manner in which the white managers deviate from the policies is that they overlook educational experience if the individual has seniority and/or ambition and drive. Again, some white managers want to put more emphasis on the seniority system; however, there are almost as many white managers who would overlook seniority if the individual had the educational background.

Table 10 lists the ways in which the managers deviate from their companies' hiring and promoting policies.

What is interesting here is that none of the white managers indicated that they deviate because of an individual's race, even though nine out of ten have various degrees of anti-Black attitudes and one out of eight said they would not hire or promote an equally qualified Black if a white were available and/or would not promote a Black into an important management position. This indicates that white managers will not freely admit that they will discriminate against Blacks because at the present time it isn't the proper thing to admit.

Another manner in which it was attempted to find out if the managers deviate from their companies' employment policies was by asking them to what extent they would take into consideration the feelings of those customers and distributors, management personnel from other companies, peers and subordinates, immediate superiors, and managers above their immediate superiors who would feel uncomfortable if they hired or promoted a Black into a management position.

Quinn, et al. noted that many managers in their study based their employment decisions on how they believed certain

TABLE 10

HOW THE MANAGERS' EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS DEVIATED FROM COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Types of Deviations	Black Managers (N=32)	White Managers (N=69)
Overlooked educational requirements, if the individual had work experience and/or drive and initiative.	45 %	13 %
Hired and promoted individuals when others recommended against it.	33	11
Overlooked work experience (seniority), if the individual had the educational background.	21	6
Overlooked seniority, if the individual had drive and ambition.	9	17
Gave higher salaries than policies indicated.	9	8
Promoted equally qualified Blacks before whites.	9	0
Did not rely on tests as much as the company policy indicated they should.	6	8
Gave people a second chance.	6	3
Really can't say deviated because the policies are so broad and general.	3	34
Other	0	6
Total*	120	100

*Some Black managers deviated in more than one way; therefore, the total percentage is over 100.

other third parties would act. They wrote:

> In an earlier study of the criteria affecting personnel decisions, many supervisors reported that nonability criteria were important in judging a managerial candidate. When asked why they were important, a frequent argument was that even though the manager was not prejudiced against a minority, the man he hired might have to deal with many people who were prejudiced. In deference to their wishes, he felt obliged to discriminate against the minority. Such a reply embodies the "third party" argument. The logic used by those employing it was described thus:
>
>> "The decision . . . is not based solely on the behavior of the worker and the judgments of his superior; the second-guessed opinions and reaction of others whom the worker may encounter are also honored."[10]

It is striking that the Black managers indicated that they would take into consideration the feelings of those third parties such as customers, distributors, management personnel from other companies, subordinates, peers and superiors more than the white managers on some questions, and almost as much on others. For example, 33 percent of the Black managers and 23 percent of the white managers who said that their customers and distributors would feel uncomfortable about having Blacks in management positions would take into consideration their feelings, at least to some extent.

In attempting to find out why the Black managers would take into consideration the racial attitudes of others, the typical response was that Blacks must face the reality that their firms are not truly committed to their AAPs; therefore, they must take into consideration the feelings of these various groups, whether the Black managers like it or not, in order to place Black managers in positions where they will be most effective and have the best opportunities to demonstrate their abilities and achieve their objectives. Once the firms are really committed to equal employment opportunities for Blacks this will not be necessary.

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[10] Quinn, et al., pp. 34-35.

The influence of senior management in directing change in employment policies can be seen by the fact that the lower level managers, Black and white, are more likely to take into consideration the feelings of managers in the level above them; therefore, if top management makes it known without a doubt that they want all employees to receive equal treatment, the managers in the lower levels of management are more likely to comply with the orders.

While this question does not tell us what final action would be taken by the managers, i.e., if they would or would not hire or promote a Black, it is probably safe to assume they would not favor Blacks in view of their racial attitudes, the racial atmospheres which exist in these firms, the weak Affirmative Action Programs, and the seeming lack of commitment from top management.

The managers were further asked if they would have answered differently any of the questions about the uncomfortable feelings of the customers and distributors, management personnel from other companies, peers and subordinates, immediate superiors, and managers above their immediate superiors ten years ago. Four out of five of the Black managers and three out of four of the white managers would have answered the questions differently ten years ago. The reasons for this are in Table 11.

TABLE 11

WHY THE MANAGERS WOULD HAVE TAKEN MORE INTO CONSIDERATION OTHER GROUPS' FEELINGS ABOUT BLACKS TEN YEARS AGO THAN NOW

Reasons	Black Managers (N=100)	White Managers (N=114)
Would not have been able to answer the questions ten years ago because would not have had this position then because of the firm's discriminatory practices.	32 %	0 %
Was not conscious of himself/herself as a Black man/woman ten years ago, i.e., was apathetic; might have attempted to overlook whites' negative attitudes toward Blacks.	26	0
White attitudes have changed, i.e., corporations and white society in general have more positive attitudes toward Blacks.	27	52
The company now has an Affirmative Action Program, but in the past discriminated against Blacks.	12	21
Would have been more influenced by negative white attitudes of workers and customers ten years ago; therefore, would have been careful in hiring and promoting Blacks.	5	13
Was not aware of the racial situation and/or did not have as much knowledge about racial issues ten years ago.	0	22
Would not have been able to answer the questions ten years ago because few, if any, Blacks were employed in management positions in the company.	0	7
Other	0	6
Total*	102	121

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers gave more than one reason.

The responses tend to suggest that there has been a change not only in the corporate world's and white people's attitudes, but also in Black people's images of themselves.

The most interesting response is that 26 percent of the Black managers indicated they are more aware of themselves as Black people and are more willing to stand up for their rights because they believe that standing up for their rights will have some good effect and it will not be useless and jeopardize their careers; therefore, they would not take into consideration third parties' feelings as much as they would have ten years ago.

All of the managers' responses to this question clearly show that their impressions of how other people feel about Blacks in management positions have and will affect their employment decisions with regard to the hiring and promoting of Blacks into management.

Some of the individual managers' responses follow:

A Black female from Ace Public Utility: "There has been a change in attitude, some of it is forced, yet there has been a change. Also some whites have appeared to change their attitudes because someone above them told them to."

Two Black bankers, one a female and one a male, from Triple C Bank gave these reasons for changing their attitudes: (The female) "I would have been harsher as far as hiring and promoting Blacks." (The male) "I wasn't a militant ten years ago. I have been placed in a situation where I see the obvious problems of racism."

Two white middle level managers from the same company responded in the following manner: "There is no way ten years ago a Black would be a supervisor in the bank." "People have changed their attitudes. It is no longer sociably acceptable to express derogatory opinions. This conduct would not be accepted now and would have been ten years ago. People are better informed now."

An upper level white manager from Century Manufacturing: "Ten years ago people just hated the color of Negroes and if you promoted one of them you were looked on as a nut by your peers and your subordinates."

And lastly, a white upper level manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "Ten years ago the company would have been more concerned about their customers' feelings. Ten years ago the company didn't recognize the problem and didn't have any real thoughts about bringing Blacks into management."

The reasons why the managers would not have answered the questions differently ten years ago are listed in Table 12.

Summary and Conclusions

There is substantial evidence that the racial atmosphere in which the Black managers must work is hostile. Only 10 percent of the Black managers and 17 percent of the white managers indicated that they are not aware of any negative white attitudes toward Blacks, do not hear any derogatory remarks about Blacks, and do not believe any of their peers, subordinates, superiors,

TABLE 12

WHY THE MANAGERS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE CONCERNED WITH THE NEGATIVE RACIAL ATTITUDES OF OTHERS TEN YEARS AGO

Reasons	Black Managers (N=16)	White Managers (N=42)
Whites' attitudes have not changed; the situation is the same, just more covert.	84 %	7 %
Respondent's attitudes have not changed; has always believed in equality for all races.	11	62
Did not know anything about race relations.	0	14
Other	5	17
Total	100	100

or managers above their immediate superiors have uncomfortable feelings about the hiring and promoting of Blacks into management positions.

Only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not express any negative racial attitudes. The following characteristics quite frequently describe the manager who is most likely to express such attitudes: white, male, middle/upper level, conservative, Republican, over 40 years of age, no specific educational achievement, very little contact with Blacks, and very religious. Even though there is the tendency for this group to hold the most racist attitudes, it is quite clear that many whites, at every level of age, education, and social background, hold racial attitudes.

Because of the racial attitudes in the firms, Black managers will not be afforded equal opportunities not only because of overt racial discrimination, but also because they will never be completely accepted into the informal work groups and social activities which are so important to success and which are dominated by white managers with negative feelings about Blacks.

Finally, the analyses show that both the Black and white managers would take other things into consideration before hiring and/or promoting a management candidate besides work experience and job knowledge. A number of Black and white managers would deviate from their companies' hiring and promoting policies primarily in terms of educational requirements, seniority, and salaries. Finally, a significant minority of Black and white managers would take into consideration the uncomfortable feelings of third parties.

This chapter adds additional information to support the claim that the primary factor affecting the Black managers' careers is racial discrimination.

CHAPTER VII

THE MANAGERS' IMAGES OF THE PROMOTABLE MANAGER

Introduction

The questions and ideas of this chapter are based on Garda W. Bowman's Ph.D. dissertation titled "The Image of a Promotable Person in Business Enterprises," written in 1960-61, and her article in the Harvard Business Review, Jan.-Feb., 1964. In the former study she interviewed 315 employees--36 top managers, 58 middle level managers, 44 first level supervisors, 168 professionals and technicians, and 9 who did not give their positions. Fifty-six percent of the 315 employees were over 35 years of age and approximately 66 percent had at least bachelors degrees. Two hundred and eighty-eight were white, 20 were Blacks, 5 Asians, and 2 did not indicate their racial background. There were no data indicating the sex of the participants. This study was done in New York City.

In the latter study which had 2,000 participants, 48 percent were top managers, 16 percent were upper middle managers, 19 percent lower middle level managers, 11 percent non-management personnel, and 6 percent professionals. These managers came from all types of industries and from all over the country. Eighty-three percent had at least bachelors degrees and 99 percent were male. No percentage breakdown of the managers' races was given;

however, Bowman indicated that very few participants were Black.

Bowman summarized the basic hypothesis of her dissertation and study in the following manner:

> The assumptions, conscious or unconscious, on which criteria for promotion are based form an "unwritten law" which often has a greater impact upon actual promotion practice than a statement of company policy, no matter how clearly and impressively the latter may be expressed. If it is assumed within a given company that a certain type of person will be selected, it is likely to be assumed in course of time that such a person should be selected, despite the narrow range from which he may be drawn. The image of success, once established, tends to be self-perpetuating.[1]

In order to find out what the prevailing image of the promotable manager was in business, she asked the managers ideally in their opinions which of a list of seventy-two characteristics should be harmful, helpful, or irrelevant for an individual's promotion to supervisor and beyond. In addition, she asked the managers how they actually believe these characteristics affect an individual's chances for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in their firm and in business in general.

She made the following statements with regard to the various images of the promotable manager:

> The degree to which the "business ideal" has been achieved in actual practice is represented in this study by two images: the respondents' image of promotability in (1) their own firms, and (2) common business practice. The former is workable and may or may not be ideal. It might be distorted either by excessive loyalty to the firm and resultant defensiveness, or by a personal sense of injury

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[1] Bowman (1962), p. 44.

> regarding the respondents' degree of advancement. However, by and large, it reflects actual experience rather than a projection of the respondents' own feelings about promotability.
>
> On the other hand, the image of a promotable person in common business practice may indeed be a projection of the respondent's own opinion and may reflect more accurately his own degree of readiness to accept promotion on the basis of individual merit than his professed ideal image, or his image of his own firm. However, whether this image is distorted by personal values and expectations or not, it has an immediate and powerful impact upon recommendations for promotion; selection and placement of personnel; training opportunities; the choice of a career, particularly for disadvantaged groups; and work incentive. The mental picture of the reality situation both reflects and, to an extent, perpetuates that situation. It is the base from which we start in movement toward objective criteria for promotion on merit alone.[2]

To discover the image of the promotable manager in the minds of the managers who participated in this study permits us (1) to explore further the fairness of the companies' employment policies, (2) to see what, if any, changes have occurred in the attitudes of managers over the past decade, and (3) to compare the managers' views of present discrimination against other minority groups such as Asians, Chicanos and women.

The first section of this chapter discusses the participating managers' ideal images of a promotable person, i.e., in the managers' own opinions, should the characteristics listed in the table be harmful, helpful, or irrelevant to an individual's promotion to supervisor and beyond. The second section will discuss what the managers' images are of those people who actually do get ahead in their firms and in business in general. The third section will discuss what the managers' images are of those people who do not get ahead in their firms and in business in general. And the fourth section will analyze the views of the managers by companies, managerial levels, educational levels, and age groups.

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

While Bowman had seven value clusters in her study--efficiency, self-advancement, creativity, management styles, personal development, integrity, and equality of opportunity--plus several other items she believed did not fit into any value cluster--for a total of seventy-two items, this chapter deals only with twenty-five of these items. Because of the writer's interest in equality, all seventeen items included in Bowman's equality of opportunity value cluster such as age, national origin, race, religion, sex, and social status (such as attendance at an Ivy League school and membership in a local country club) plus three items which are indirectly related to ability--college education, graduate training in business administration, and technical knowledge of a specific job to be done--were included. Another criterion used which is sometimes considered an ability criterion is seniority; however, an individual could have many years of service with the firm and still be a very incompetent manager. The following factors were also included: spouse who is helpful to career, pull with top management, artistic and cultural interests, and community interests and activities. None of these measure ability; they measure non-ability criteria or ascriptive criteria which have been found to greatly affect the career patterns of managers.

The Participating Managers' Ideal Images of the Promotable Manager

In Chapter VI when the managers were asked: What are the kinds of things about a management candidate that might make you hesitate to hire or promote him, other than his lack of experience and job knowledge?, none of the managers selected such things as race, religion, sex, or age. Most of the managers selected factors related to ability criteria such as ability to relate and get along with people, lack of hard work, resourcefulness and initiative, and lack of leadership ability and/or good judgment. There was also a substantial minority who selected such things as loyalty to company and conformity to company standards in terms of dress, attitudes, and physical appearance--which may be code words for class, sex, ethnic, racial and/or religious origins.

It was also noted in Chapter VI that none of the managers who indicated that they deviate from their companies' employment policies said they deviate by selecting managers who are of a certain age, race, sex, or religion; they generally said that they deviate in terms of educational requirements, seniority, and salary. However, in Chapter VI there was some indication that some Black and white managers would be influenced by the uncomfortable feelings of third parties with regard to Blacks in management positions.

When the managers were asked which factors they ideally believe should be irrelevant for a manager's promotional opportunities to supervisor and beyond, it became evident that some of the managers in this study would take into consideration other non-ability factors such as race, religion, age, sex, and national origin.

A. Ideally irrelevant facts

Before looking at those factors which the managers consider should be helpful ideally in their opinions for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond, the factors which 80 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be irrelevant will be analyzed. These are shown in Table 1. The responses of the managers in Bowman's two studies are included for comparison.

This table clearly indicates that both the Black and white managers in this study and in Bowman's studies believe that religious affiliation should be the most irrelevant factor when considering an individual for promotion. The table also indicates that more of the white managers in this study consistently believe that race and national origin should be irrelevant than the Black managers. This is also the case with regard to the factors which are considered to represent status such as attending an Ivy League school and belonging to a country club. However, more of the Black managers than white managers believe sex, especially male, should be irrelevant than the white managers.

When the white managers in the three studies are compared, it is seen that the white managers in this study tend to believe the previous factors should be more irrelevant than those in

TABLE 1

FACTORS WHICH THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD IDEALLY BE IRRELEVANT FOR PROMOTION

Factors	Bowman's[3] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	Bowman's[4] HBR Study** (1964) (N=2000)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)
Catholic	96 %	92 %	97 %	95 %
Jewish	95	83	96	93
Protestant	92	86	94	93
Church Attendance	62	65	84	91
White	64	53	92	90
Asian	86	67	92	88
Foreigner	91	77	87	85
Ivy League School	84	81	88	84
Country Club Membership in Prominent Social Clubs***	90	63	94	84
Chicano, Puerto Rican***	76	62	87	83
Male	50	35	65	82
Black	83	62	89	81
Female	67	50	76	80
U. S. Citizen	63	46	80	73

*Only those factors which 80 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be irrelevant are included.

**HBR stands for Harvard Business Review.

***Bowman used Membership in Prominent Social Clubs rather than Country Club in her second study and Puerto Rican in both of her studies rather than Chicano.

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[3] Bowman (1962), pp. 99-99B.

[4] Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

New York (Bowman's Ph.D.,1962) and those in New York tend to believe the previous factors should be more irrelevant than those throughout the U. S. (Bowman's Harvard Business Review article, 1964).

The most significant differences between the white managers in these three studies lie in the areas of race, especially with regard to Blacks and whites, sex, attendance at religious services, U. S. citizenship, and club membership.

The differences in the white managers' responses can be attributed to: (1) the sample make-up, and (2) the time element. More specifically, because of the regional characteristics of Bowman's Ph.D. (New York), this study (California), and Bowman's HRB study (nation-wide), one would expect more liberal views for samples of New Yorkers and Californians than one which includes Southerns and Mid-Westerners. In addition, this study had 15 percent white females who are more likely to consider race and sex characteristics irrelevant than the white males.

Since Bowman's studies, the civil rights movement and the women's movement have had their influences on white managers' views, the white managers in this study have more equal opportunity views, i.e., consider such things as race and sex as more irrelevant to promotions than those managers in Bowman's studies.

With regard to attendance at religious services the difference can be attributed to the decrease in importance of religion among many people, as was noted in Chapter II.

B. Ideally helpful facts

Table 2 shows those factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be ideally helpful to a manager's promotional opportunities.

Although the differences are small, Table 2 shows that in this study more of the Black managers believe the three factors relating to ability should ideally be helpful than the white managers. When the Black managers' responses are compared with the white managers' responses in Bowman's studies on these items, they are quite similar except with regard to the MBA. More of the white managers in all of the studies believe the three factors relating to non-ability criteria should ideally be helpful than the Black managers. One possible reason the Black managers place more emphasis on ability criteria is that they are more educated and generally more qualified than their white counterparts. Another possible explanation is that many of the white managers in this study are middle and upper level managers. At these managerial levels community and cultural interests and a helpful spouse become more important and necessary items.

Thus far, according to the participating managers' ideal opinions, religion, race, national origin, sex, and belonging to a country club should generally be considered as irrelevant factors for promotions. A college education, technical skills, cultural and community activities, and a helpful spouse should generally be considered as helpful factors for promotions.

TABLE 2

FACTORS WHICH THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD IDEALLY BE HELPFUL FOR PROMOTION*

Factors	Bowman's[5] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	Bowman's[6] HBR Study (1964) (N=2000)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)
College Education	94 %	94 %	88 %	95 %
Technical Knowledge	86	90	86	90
Community Interest	71	71	72	67
Graduate Work in Business Administration	78	80	61	62
Cultural Interests	75	71	66	53
Helpful Spouse	60	No Data**	53	50

*Only those factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be helpful are included.

**This information was not available in Bowman's second study.

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[5] Bowman (1962), pp. 99-99B.

[6] Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

C. Ideally harmful facts

Now it would be appropriate to see what in the managers' opinions should be considered ideally as harmful factors. Table 3 shows those factors which at least 10 percent or more of the Black or white managers or both ideally believe should be harmful to an individual's promotional opportunities.[7]

Although approximately 80 percent of the managers in this study believe that being a female and from a foreign country should be irrelevant, one still finds that there is a significant minority of managers who believe these factors should be harmful to an individual's promotional opportunities. In addition, 35 percent of the white managers and 18 percent of the Black managers believe that being male should ideally be a helpful factor for promotion. This compares to 65 percent of the males in Bowman's Harvard Business Review study who indicated that ideally they believed being male should be helpful to an individual's promotion and approximately 50 percent of those who participated in her study for her Ph.D. dissertation. These figures clearly suggest that either federal laws and social pressures against sex discrimination are having an effect on the beliefs of white male managers or many of these managers are saying the "right" things as a result of laws

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[7] Bowman's data were not presented in such a manner that one could compare it exactly with the data in this study; however, she did present data which can be used as a basis of comparison. These data show the percentage of managers who believe certain factors should and do hinder promotions. In addition to those factors listed in the table, Bowman found that 15 percent of the white managers believed being Puerto Rican should and did hinder promotions and 9 percent believed being Black, Oriental, and under 30 should and did hinder promotions.

TABLE 3

FACTORS WHICH THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD IDEALLY BE HARMFUL FOR PROMOTION*

Factors	Bowman's[8]** Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)
Over 45	15 %	31 %	25 %
Female	19	18	13
Foreign	6	12	12
Seniority	No Data	4	11
Pull With Top Management	No Data	16	4

*Only those factors which 10 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful are included.

**No data was available in Bowman's HBR study.

and pressures, i.e., females are not really afforded equal opportunities but the managers believe they are because they have been conditioned to by social and governmental pressures. The impact of governmental and social pressures seems also to affect the participating managers' opinions with regard to age.

The differences between the Black and white managers with regard to how they rated seniority are similar to the findings discussed in Chapter V, where it was pointed out that, generally, the Black managers would de-emphasize the seniority system if they had the power to make promotional changes and the white managers would emphasize it. Eleven percent of the Black managers and only

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[8] Bowman (1962), p. 71.

4 percent of the white managers believe seniority should ideally be considered a harmful factor and 9 percent of the Black managers and 21 percent of the white managers believe it should be a helpful factor for promotion.

There is also a big difference in opinion between the Black and white managers regarding the role politics (pull with top management) should play in promotional opportunities. Thirty percent of the Black managers and only 14 percent of the white managers believe it should be helpful.

In Chapter V it was noted that one of the major complaints of the Black managers about their companies' employment policies is that politics plays too great a role in the implementation of the policies; yet, 30 percent of the Black managers believe ideally it should be helpful to an individual's promotional opportunities. A possible explanation for this inconsistency was offered by a Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank who said, "I indicated that pull with top management should be helpful in my ideal opinion because the fact of the matter is that people tend to favor those people they know. If a manager does not know you, you don't have pull--if he does, you do." The Black managers are probably expressing what they believe is actually taking place, while the white managers are being more "idealistic." Part of the differences might also be attributed to the different manners of interpreting pull with top management, i.e., managers can have pull if they have a senior manager sponsoring them or if they have personal contacts or they can have pull through their own efforts and abilities.

D. Summary and conclusions

An important observation in this section has been that all of the Black and white managers in this study believe that more of the ascriptive factors should ideally be irrelevant for promotions than the predominantly white managers in Bowman's studies. Another important observation is that although the managers in this study, as noted in Chapter VI, did not mention that they would take into consideration such things as age, sex, race, and national origin in their evaluation of a manager who has work experience and job knowledge, it is quite clear from their responses in this section that a substantial minority of them would take these things into consideration.

It can be said that the Black and white managers generally agree on which factors should ideally be helpful, harmful, or irrelevant for promotion to supervisor and beyond. As shall be seen in the next section covering who actually gets ahead in their firms and in business in general, the Black and white managers do not agree as much as they do with regard to which factors should ideally be helpful to promotion to supervisor and beyond.

Who Actually Gets Ahead

If one only looks at those factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are helpful for promotion in their firms, one finds that there are eleven factors which the Black managers believe are helpful for promotion in their firms and six factors which the white managers believe are helpful.

Fifty percent or more of the Black managers believe that the manager who gets ahead in their companies is a white, college-educated, technically oriented, male, under 45 years of age, who has an MBA, seniority, a helpful spouse, pull with top management, and is interested in community activities.

Fifty percent or more of the white managers believe that the manager who gets ahead in their companies is a college-educated, technically oriented, male, under 45 years of age, who has an MBA and is interested in community activities. The white managers in Bowman's studies saw the same type of manager getting ahead in their firms ten years ago as the white managers in this study see getting ahead now.

The majority of the Black managers see a manager who gets ahead in business in general with essentially the same characteristics as the manager who gets ahead in their firms. However, the manager would also have artistic and cultural interests and belong to a country club. As Table 4 indicates, the majority of the white managers in this study and in Bowman's HBR study generally agree with the Black managers that this would be the type of manager who gets ahead in business in general.

Table 4 lists the factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be/are helpful for promotion in their ideal opinions, actually in their firms, and actually in business in general. In addition, it shows

TABLE 4

POSITIVE IMAGE*

Factors	Ideally in Opinion Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Actually Firm Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Actually Business Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)
College Education	95 %	88 %	94 %	85 %	92 %	83 %	94 %	97 %	93 %
Grad. Work Bus. Adm.	62	61	80	58	68	50	75	81	75
Technical Knowledge	90	86	90	74	80	85	81	86	86
Seniority	--	--	--	61	43	--	70	59	ND**
Under 30	--	--	--	--	--	--	49	50	ND**
Under 45	--	--	70	60	59	69	60	63	76
White	--	--	--	67	31	--	78	53	74***
Male	--	--	65	76	62	79	90	72	87

TABLE 4 (continued)

Factors	Ideally in Opinion Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Actually Firm Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Actually Business Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)
Cultural Interests	53 %	66 %	71 %	--	--	51 %	60 %	47 %	64 %
Community Interests	67	72	71	66	72	51	67	67	64
Country Club	--	--	--	--	--	--	66	61	ND**
U. S. Citizen	--	--	54	62	42	80	62	33	76***
Pull	--	--	--	79	46	ND**	82	62	ND**
Helpful Spouse	50	53	ND**	52	49	ND**	60	70	ND**

*Only those factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are helpful are included.

**ND means no data available in Bowman's studies.

***Data from Bowman's Ph.D. study.

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[9] Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

the responses of the managers who participated in Bowman's Harvard Business Review study. No similar overall data were available from Bowman's Ph.D. study.

This table shows, once again, that the white managers in this study are generally under the impression that their own companies are much better than those in business in general. As Bowman noted, the managers' responses regarding their companies can be influenced by firm loyalty and/or by personal dissatisfaction with one's job and career opportunities.

The managers' responses regarding business in general are more realistic in terms of what the situation actually is in the corporate world and in their own firms. In addition, as Bowman said, the white managers' views about business in general might be a projection of what the managers really believe the situation ideally should be rather than how they rated the items ideally in their opinions.

Table 4 also points out that little change has occurred over the past ten years in the white managers' views with regard to who gets ahead in the corporate world. The white, college-educated, male, under 45, born in the U. S. is still the image of the promotable manager in the minds of a substantial majority of Black and white managers.

Table 5 lists the items and the differences between the percentage of managers who ideally consider them helpful factors and the percentage who actually believe them to be helpful factors for promotion in their firms and in business in general.

TABLE 5

DIFFERENCE IN PERCENT OF CRITERIA SEEN AS MORE IMPORTANT TO PROMOTIONS IN THE MANAGERS' FIRMS AND BUSINESS THAN THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD IDEALLY BE THE CASE*

Factors	Difference Between Managers' Ideal Opinions and What Actually Happens in Firms		Difference Between Managers' Ideal Opinions and What Actually Happens in Business	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Ivy League	22 %	16 %	37 %	33 %
Seniority	42	22	51	38
White	58	23	69	45
Male	58	27	72	37
Country Club	36	22	55	58
U. S. Citizen	37	22	37	13
Pull	49	32	52	48
Protestant	11	2	28	16

*No comparative data was available from Bowman's studies and there was no way of determining it.

The greatest discrepancies between what the Black managers believe are helpful factors ideally, actually in their firms, and actually in business in general occur with the two factors white and male.

The greatest discrepancies between what the white managers believe are helpful factors in their firms occur with the two factors male and pull with top management; however, the greatest discrepancies between what the white managers believe are helpful factors ideally and actually in business in general occur with the three factors: country club membership, pull with top management, and white.

When one controls for sex, it becomes evident that female managers generally believe being a white male is more helpful both in the corporate world and in their firms than the male managers. They also believe that being Black, Asian, or Chicano is less helpful both in the corporate world and in their firms than the males. None of the females believe that being a female is a helpful factor for promotion in their firms or in business in general.

Who Does Not Get Ahead

In this section the managers' images of who does not get ahead in their firms and in business in general will be discussed.

Three of the six items which 30 percent or more of the Black managers believe are harmful for promotion in their firms are racial characteristics, i.e., Chicano, Black, and Asian. A small percent of the Black managers believe being Chicano is more harmful for promotion than being Black. Another harmful factor was being from a foreign country. A majority of the Black managers believe being female is the most harmful factor for promotion in their firms. Table 6 shows only those factors which 30 percent or more of the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful for promotion in their firms.

TABLE 6

FACTORS WHICH MANAGERS BELIEVE ARE HARMFUL FOR PROMOTION IN THEIR FIRMS*

Factors	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Female	61 %	44 %
Chicano	56	21
Black	54	11
Over 45	47	52
Oriental	41	10
Foreigner	39	15

*Only those factors which 30 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful are included. No comparative data from Bowman's studies is available.

As one would expect, the Black managers believe that these six factors are also harmful for promotion in business in general; however, 30 percent of the Black managers also believe being Jewish is harmful.

Table 7 lists the items which 30 percent or more of the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful for promotion in business in general.

Notice that while 30 percent or more of the white managers selected only two items, over 45 and female, as being harmful for promotion in their firms (Table 6), 30 percent or more of them selected six of the seven items which the Black managers

TABLE 7

FACTORS WHICH MANAGERS BELIEVE ARE HARMFUL FOR PROMOTION IN BUSINESS IN GENERAL*

Factors	Bowman's[10] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's[11] HBR Study (1964) (N=2000)
Female	58 %	72 %	68 %	77 %
Chicano (Puerto Rican)	71	68	55	77
Black	77	68	58	87
Over 45	54	67	49	No Data
Oriental	68	52	38	75
Foreigner	No Data	40	38	No Data
Jewish	No Data	30	23	No Data

*Only those factors which 30 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful are included.

selected as being harmful for promotion in business in general (Table 7).

When comparing the responses of the managers in this study to those of the managers in Bowman's two studies, it is interesting to note that in the minds of both the white and Black managers in this study being female has replaced being Black as the most harmful factor to an individual's promotional opportunities in business in general whereas the predominantly white managers in Bowman's two studies believed that being Black was the most harmful factor.

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[10] Bowman (1962), p. 61.

[11] Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

The fact that only 1 percent of the managers in our randomly selected sample are Jewish clearly indicates that being Jewish is more harmful to an individual's promotional opportunities in business in general and in these firms than what the Black and white managers in this study believe.

Comparison of Select Items by Various Characteristics

Table 8 shows the managers' responses to some of the select items with regard to their harmfulness or helpfulness for promotion in their particular firms.

Table 8 shows that the Affirmative Action Programs of Ace Public Utility and Triple A Bank have created among their Black managers the most positive overall views of the promotional opportunities which exist in their companies not only for Blacks but also for Asians, Chicanos, and women. The white managers in these companies also have more positive views of the promotional opportunities which exist for Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and women in their companies than the white managers in most of the other companies.

Only in Ace Public Utility were the Black managers consistent in their views of the helpfulness or harmfulness of being Black or white and in none of the companies were the white managers consistent in their views. For example, 50 percent of the

TABLE 8

RESPONSES TO SELECTED FACTORS BY COMPANIES

Items		Companies								
		Ace Public Utility	Triple C Bank	Cousins Manu.	Aunts Manu.	Triple A Bank	Ajax Manu.	Century Manu.	Deuce Public Utility	Total
Negro -*										
	Black	50 %	48 %	62 %	68 %	36 %	67 %	100 %	60 %	54 %
	White	8	0	27	9	6	33	0	20	11
White +										
	Black	46	72	85	74	50	100	100	80	67
	White	23	20	47	41	31	53	13	27	30
Chicano -										
	Black	50	52	62	68	43	67	100	60	56
	White	15	7	33	27	19	40	20	20	21
Asian -										
	Black	37	44	39	53	37	33	100	33	41
	White	0	3	13	14	6	40	0	13	9
U.S.A. +										
	Black	58	56	54	74	57	100	100	67	62
	White	35	33	53	55	50	33	40	40	42
Male +										
	Black	50	80	92	93	57	100	100	87	77
	White	46	47	93	100	63	87	60	40	62

TABLE 8 (continued)

Items		Companies								
		Ace Public Utility	Triple C Bank	Cousins Manu.	Aunts Manu.	Triple A Bank	Ajax Manu.	Century Manu.	Deuce Public Utility	Total
Female -										
	Black	50 %	60 %	69 %	67 %	43 %	100 %	100 %	67 %	61 %
	White	15	7	67	74	38	87	60	40	44
Under 30 +										
	Black	62	28	39	47	29	0	100	33	41
	White	73	40	20	55	31	60	67	0	46
Under 45 +										
	Black	69	52	54	68	64	33	0	60	60
	White	54	63	67	77	36	53	53	47	58
Over 45 -										
	Black	77	32	46	53	36	33	100	27	47
	White	73	20	33	77	44	87	80	7	52
Jewish -										
	Black	30	20	8	11	21	33	0	27	20
	White	12	3	20	5	6	7	7	7	7
Ivy Type +										
	Black	31	36	8	42	64	100	0	20	33
	White	27	17	47	9	31	33	7	20	23

TABLE 8 (continued)

Items		Companies								
		Ace Public Utility	Triple C Bank	Cousins Manu.	Aunts Manu.	Triple A Bank	Ajax Manu.	Century Manu.	Deuce Public Utility	Total
Country Club +										
	Black	46 %	36 %	39 %	39 %	71 %	33 %	100 %	60 %	47 %
	White	8	17	13	42	19	33	7	27	14
Pull w. Top +										
	Black	77	84	69	40	93	100	100	80	79
	White	58	40	40	68	38	60	40	53	46
Negro +										
	Black	23	12	0	21	29	0	0	27	18
	White	42	20	40	23	25	20	20	27	27

*The (+) or (-) after the name of the item indicates whether the managers believe the item is helpful or harmful for promotion in their firms.

Black managers in Ace Public Utiltiy believe that being Black is harmful for promotion and 46 percent believe that being white is helpful for promotion; however, 48 percent of the Black managers in Triple C Bank believe that being Black is harmful, but 72 percent believe that being white is helpful! The greatest inconsistencies in the white managers' views occur in Aunts Manufacturing--only 9 percent said being Black is harmful but 41 percent said being white is helpful.

Another important point is that the white managers in Cousins, Aunts, and Ajax Manufacturing Companies almost unanimously agree that being male is a helpful factor for promotion in their firms. Many of the managers in these firms say that the type of work their company does is not suitable for women; however, what is interesting is that Ajax Manufacturing has recently hired ten females in jobs which were supposedly only suitable for males. Thus it seems that women are suited for many of the jobs available in these firms, but are simply not given the opportunities to demonstrate this.

While there is consistency in the opinions of the white managers in Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies and Deuce Public Utility in that they believe being male is helpful and being female is harmful, there are inconsistencies in the opinions of the white managers in the other companies. The most glaring inconsistencies are in the opinions of the white managers in Ace Public Utility and Triple C Bank. For example, 47 percent of the white managers in Triple C bank believe being male is helpful for promotion, but only 7 percent believe being female is harmful. The former percentage is probably the true representation of the situation in their firms, while the latter percentage probably represents only what the managers believe the proper response should be.

Table 8 by comparing the views of the managers by company indicates that a strong Affirmative Action Program does modify the image of the promotable manager in the minds of the managers from the white male image to a more heterogeneous image.

Table 9 shows the managers' responses to selected items by their managerial level, age group, and educational level.

From this table it becomes apparent that the younger, lower level, Black managers feel more than the older, middle level, Black managers that being Black is harmful for promotion in their firms and being white is helpful. This is also true with regard to their responses to the factor Chicano. There also seems to be a pattern among the younger, more educated, lower and middle level white managers to believe that being Black is a harmful factor compared to the older, upper level white managers. These general attitudes are those which have been seen throughout the previous chapters.

Notice that only approximately 13 percent of the white managers of all age groups, managerial levels, and educational levels believe that being Black is harmful for promotion in their firms; yet almost 30 percent believe that being white is a helpful factor. Even though more of the lower level white managers believe

TABLE 9

RESPONSES TO SELECTED FACTORS BY MANAGERIAL LEVEL, AGE GROUP, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

		Managerial Level			Personal Characteristics Age				Education		
		Lower	Middle	Upper	Under 30	30-40	40-50	Over 50	High School	Some College	BA +
Negro -											
	Black	57 %	47 %	0 %	73 %	45 %	35 %	0 %	30 %	62 %	54 %
	White	11	13	7	17	12	12	7	8	6	15
White +											
	Black	70	62	0	76	62	65	0	30	73	71
	White	40	28	24	56	26	28	29	23	27	36
Chicano -											
	Black	56	56	0	73	49	35	0	30	62	57
	White	22	22	17	33	19	22	16	13	18	26
Asian -											
	Black	42	38	0	51	38	24	0	10	46	43
	White	7	11	7	11	12	8	7	3	9	12
U.S.A. +											
	Black	59	71	0	67	57	71	0	40	70	62
	White	44	40	45	61	43	45	37	35	39	46

TABLE 9 (continued)

		Personal Characteristics									
		Managerial Level			Age				Education		
		Lower	Middle	Upper	Under 30	30-40	40-50	Over 50	High School	Some College	BA +
Male +											
	Black	77 %	77 %	0 %	80 %	76 %	76 %	0 %	30 %	76 %	85 %
	White	76	54	62	83	61	63	55	50	61	69
Female -											
	Black	60	65	0	67	58	59	0	40	60	66
	White	48	44	35	61	44	48	26	28	30	57
Under 30 +											
	Black	39	44	0	42	38	41	0	50	38	40
	White	33	48	59	33	37	50	55	55	49	40
Under 45 +											
	Black	59	60	0	64	55	65	0	20	70	60
	White	54	65	45	61	61	57	52	60	42	63
Over 45 -											
	Black	46	47	0	47	47	53	0	60	51	43
	White	57	48	55	61	58	45	55	55	49	52
Jewish -											
	Black	17	30	0	18	19	29	0	0	24	21
	White	7	8	7	11	7	5	10	5	0	11

that being white is a helpful factor than the middle and upper level white managers, 24 percent of the top managers believe this to be true. The Black and white managers believe that being Asian is not as harmful as being Chicano or Black.

When one looks at the managers' attitudes about their companies' policies toward sex, notice the high percentage--62 percent--of top managers who believe that being male is helpful, while only 35 percent believe being female is harmful.

The differences in the responses of the upper level white managers can be attributed to the fact that they can't help but admit that being male is helpful to an individual's promotional opportunities because there are no females, or very few, in the upper level of management, but many will not admit that being female is harmful because of the laws forbidding sexual discrimination.

One final important fact is that the middle level, older, Black managers who have college educations believe that being Jewish is more of a harmful factor for promotion than any of the other managerial groups. This might be due to the fact that the older Black managers can remember times when many Blacks and Jews were suffering under even more extreme discrimination.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter supports many of the positions in the previous chapters. It also shows that even though changes have occurred in the image of the promotable manager in corporations during the past ten years, these changes have not been great.

Most of the Black and white managers believe the three ability factors--college education, technical knowledge of the specific job to be done, and MBA--are essential both in principle and in practice for promotions; however, many of the Black and white managers believe factors such as race, sex, age, and national origin in fact play crucial roles in the promotional opportunities of managers. In essence the managers are saying that a college education and technical knowledge of the specific job to be done are important provided the manager is a white male, under 45, who was born in the U.S.A.

The consequences of this image for business means that as long as substantial majorities of the managers believe that the promotable person is a young, white, college educated, Protestant, male, he will be the one who will receive the special training and promotional considerations. Thus a strong Affirmative Action Program for minorities and women will be needed to assure them equality of opportunity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MANAGERS' ASPIRATIONS, WORK ENVIRONMENT, AND JOB SATISFACTION

Introduction

This chapter discusses: (1) the managers' views of their progress in their companies and their goals and aspirations; (2) things which bother them in their work, such as being unclear about the scope and responsibility of their jobs, not being able to satisfy conflicting demands of various people over them, and having to do things on the job which are against their better judgment; and (3) the managers' satisfaction with their work group, type of work, salary, and company in general.

Many studies in sociology and psychology have discussed the functions of work and the crucial role it plays in individuals' lives. For example, a recent study conducted for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare noted that work is at the center of most adults' lives, giving them a sense of identity, self-esteem, and order:

> . . . Work offers economic self-sufficiency, status, family stability, and an opportunity to interact with others in one of the most basic activities of society. Consequently, if the opportunity to work is absent or if the nature of work is dissatisfying (or worse), severe repercussions are likely to be

> experienced in other parts of the social system.[1]

Sayles and Strauss saw three primary social needs an individual tries to fulfill in the work situation: (1) friendship, (2) feeling of identification with informal work groups, and (3) helping others and being helped by others. They also saw social needs being fulfilled by the subordinate-superior relationship:

> Another set of social needs develops out of the subordinate's relationship to his supervisor. Naturally the subordinate wants to be treated fairly: He wants a fair hearing when he thinks his supervisor has made a wrong decision, and he wants the right to appeal over the supervisor's head. Most people like praise when they do something well . . . . The average worker also expects acceptance from his supervisor--that is, understanding and consideration when he makes a mistake. Finally, he wants to know where he stands.[2]

Work fulfills not only social but egoistic needs of which the most important is fulfillment in terms of accomplishment via importance of work, rate of progress, completion and productiveness. Jobs considered to be of high prestige offer more satisfaction than low status jobs.

Accomplishment in terms of progress and completion means that people like to measure their progress and be told and/or know about the satisfactory or unsatisfactory progress of their assignment and to see their assignments completed. This leads to the needs of people to feel that they are productive, i.e., that they are turning out work which is useful.

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[1] Work in America, Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), p. 1.

[2] Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, Human Behavior in Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1960), p. 10.

Robert Blauner who has developed a theory of job alienation noted: (1) jobs which do not allow the employees to control their immediate work environment result in a sense of powerlessness; (2) jobs which do not allow for development of relationships between individual acts and the "broader life program" fail to create situations in which the individual role is seen "as fitting into the total system of goals of the organization"--a sense of meaninglessness results; and (3) jobs which are boring, monotonous and as a result do not provide the opportunities for personal self-growth, i.e., when jobs become means rather than fulfilling ends, employees develop a feeling of self-estrangement. Likewise jobs where employees are excluded from numerous informal work groups give employees a feeling of social isolation. All this leads in turn to alienation.[3] In his words:

> Alienation exists when workers are unable to control their immediate work processes, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connects their jobs to the over-all organization of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities, and when they fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self-expression.[4]

Wilensky and Lebeaux noted other types of behaviors besides alienation which could result in a non-productive work environment (although they are talking about factor workers, their statements can be applied to all employees of corporations):

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[3] Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago, 1964), pp. 15-34.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

> . . . Small wonder that investigators report sharp disaffection and class-conscious political attitudes among some factory workers--the feeling that work is oppressive and meaningless; that "success" is a matter of luck, pull, having the right connections . . . .
>
> While there is little evidence on this point, it seems possible that the frustrations of the work routine on the assembly line place a heavy hand on the worker's off-the-job thought and feeling, that the deadening rhythms of the factory tend to be repeated in his leisure time. Lacking satisfaction on the job, he may seek synthetic substitutes in passive consumption of the standardized products of "mass culture" off the job. If this passive exposure to TV, film, comics, and sports arena itself offers insufficient release of tension, it may help to explain the explosiveness of life in a factory city like Detroit--the race riots and bar brawls, the passionate hostility to management shown in work-place and union meeting . . . .[5]

Addressing the concept of participation, John R. P. French, Jr., and Robert D. Caplan noted:

> Participation refers to the extent to which a person has influence on decision processes of the organization. To the extent that people's knowledge, opinions, and wishes are excluded from such decision processes, we say that they have low participation . . . .
>
> Early experimental research has shown that lack of opportunities to participate in such decisions can create strain in the person and even adversely affect productivity . . . .
>
> Our study of forty-four such organizations revealed that high participation was associated with high satisfaction with the job and the organization, high self-esteem, low alienation, high commitment to work and to the organization,

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[5] Wilensky and Lebeaux, pp. 111 and 61.

> more innovation for better ways of doing the job, doing more extra work, reading more books and magazines related to work, a higher performance evaluation by one's manager, and lower absenteeism.[6]

In conclusion, the main reason for including sections on the managers' views of their working environment and their job satisfaction is to see how Black and white managers differ in their views. This will be helpful to firms who want to improve their Affirmative Action Programs. No company will have a successful Affirmative Action Program if their Black managers believe they are limited in interacting in their firms, believe they are being rejected, believe they will not be able to satisfy their needs, goals, and aspirations, believe their work environment is unsatisfactory, and believe their overall work experience is unsatisfactory. Those Black managers who feel this way will not readily identify with the company and will not perform to the fullest extent of their capabilities.

The Managers' Attitudes about Their Past Progress in Their Companies

This section will deal primarily with the managers' attitudes about their progress in their companies. Considering that the majority of the Black managers have pessimistic attitudes about the opportunities that exist in their firms and in the corporate world in general, one would expect dissatisfaction on the part of a majority of the Black managers with their past progress.

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[6] R. D. Caplan and John R. P. French, Jr., "Organizational Stress and Industrial Strain," in Alfred J. Morrow, ed., The Failure of Success (New York, 1972), pp. 49-50.

This is not the case. When the managers were asked the question: Have you progressed as rapidly as you think you should in this company?, two-thirds of the Black managers and four-fifths of the white managers answered affirmatively. The Black and white female managers are more dissatisfied with their progress than the males are, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1

HAVE THE MANAGERS PROGRESSED AS RAPIDLY AS THEY THINK THEY SHOULD?

Response	Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Yes	69 %	52 %	82 %	74 %
No	29	48	18	26
Other	2	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Approximately 42 percent of the Black managers are not satisfied with their progress or feel that they are not really certain because of their short periods of employment with their firms. The Black managers with more than four years of service are more likely to be dissatisfied with their progress than those with four or less years of service. For example, 72 percent of those with four or less years of service, compared to 60 percent of those with more than four years of service, are satisfied with their progress. Furthermore, only 45 percent of those with more than eight years of service expressed satisfaction with their progress. There were no observable differences among white managers with various lengths of service.

The reasons the managers are satisfied with their progress in their companies are listed in Table 2.

Some of the individual comments of the Black managers which follow will show that the short time most of the Black managers have been with their firms is a major factor in explaining why 66 percent of them have been satisfied with their past progress.

For example, a Black middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing who has been with his firm for three years: "In the time I have been here I have received four promotions and related salary increases." However, he rated his chances of achieving upper management as poor because of the "ultra-conservative" racist attitudes which exist in his firm.

A middle level Black manager who has been with the same company only nine months: "In terms of entry level positions I am satisfied--the future is unknown."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing, although satisfied with his progress, believes that he could handle more responsibilities: "I have only been with the company for three years. I think I am more than capable of handling a larger job, but I have progressed as rapidly as I should have. I set goals and I'm on the way to reaching them."

TABLE 2

REASONS THE MANAGERS ARE SATISFIED WITH THEIR PROGRESS

Reasons	Black Managers (N=76)	White Managers (N=126)
Short period of time with the firm and has achieved the position faster than most people.	28 %	8 %
Goals and aspirations are being achieved either on schedule or faster than was anticipated.	20	25
Company has fair promotional opportunities; therefore, has progressed as rapidly as most people.	15	22
Can't really say because of the short period of time with the firm, but seems to be progressing all right thus far.	11	0
Has progressed faster than most people.	6	13
Limited amount of education but has progressed.	5	11
Limited amount of experience but has progressed; has progressed according to capabilities; abilities are being fulfilled.	5	16
At first did not, but now is progressing.	1	4
Other	9	1
Total	100	100

Finally, a Black who made middle management in Ace Public Utility after two and one-half years under the high risk-high reward program said, "I came in under the MAP program. After I had been in it for one year I was evaluated as being able to assume a district level position in five years. I have been advanced quite rapidly--I reached district level in two and one-half years."

Table 3 lists the reasons the Black and white managers are not satisfied with their progress.

Some of the individual statements of the managers will give insights about their dissatisfaction.

A white middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility, who has been with his firm twenty-four years: "I have been here twenty-four years and I have the ability to do the top job in my department. It is open now and has not been filled--I believe I should be promoted into the job since I have the ability and seniority, but maybe I am not political enough."

A white female manager from Triple C Bank, who only had a high school degree but has taken numerous banking courses for a total of six of her twenty years at the bank: "I have been with the company twenty years and have taken many courses. I have been held back because I am a woman. I even took a managers' training program six years ago."

A white middle level manager from Ajax Manufacturing gave these reasons for not being satisfied with his progress: "Up until two years ago I developed as rapidly as possible, but because of the turnover in our staff I have fallen into bad graces with the

TABLE 3

REASONS THE MANAGERS ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THEIR PROGRESS

Reasons	Black Managers (N=38)	White Managers (N=30)
Progress hindered due to race.	57 %	3 %
Has experience and qualifications, but others with less experience and qualifications have been promoted over respondent.	18	10
Not given a chance to prove ability or fulfill potential	15	17
At first did not, but now is progressing.	5	7
Lacks political influence.	5	7
Not willing to move from the area.	3	7
Lack of education.	3	10
Progress hindered due to sex, i.e., being a female.	0	13
Superiors have held respondent back.	0	10
Came in under the old promotional system, i.e., began at the lowest level rather than where respondent belonged.	0	7
Other	5	20
Total*	111	121

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers gave more than one reason for their dissatisfaction with their progress.

Vice-President of Industrial Relations and I didn't get promoted into a couple of the openings that I should have been."

A white middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "I have been at the same level for the past seventeen years--I wouldn't take a job so it was held against me way back when."

A lower level Black female manager who has been with the same company for fourteen years: "I knew I had the ability but when I came to the company in 1958 they weren't promoting Blacks.

A Black middle level manager with a law degree from the same company tells how a supervisor can either help or hinder your progress: "My first boss indicated that I would be where I am now one year ago. When I changed bosses I got a racist boss who held me back."

A Black middle level manager in Aunts Manufacturing who only makes $14,500 even though he has an engineering degree, an MBA, and five years of work experience, said: "For my experience and background I am not being promoted fast enough. They say that I'm too young. The real reason that I'm not getting any promotions is because I'm Black and the company is afraid of employee and customer reaction."

In general, these statements by the Black managers indicate either that they have been with their firms for long periods of time and feel they have not progressed because of racial discrimination or that they have been with their firms short periods of time but do not believe they have been placed in positions which reflect their qualifications. In addition, the previous responses show that, in general, the few white managers who are dissatisfied with their progress believe politics has played a role.

In sum: while the vast majority of both Black and white managers are satisfied with their progress, there are some indications that the Black managers will become more dissatisfied as their length of service increases.

The Managers' Attitudes about Selecting New Jobs, Their Future Progress in Their Companies, and Their Goals

This section will discuss the managers' views about important factors in their selecting a job, their future progress, their goals, and how compatible they think their goals are with the progress they foresee for themselves.

A. Important and unimportant factors in selecting a new job

The recent HEW study on work listed eight factors workers believe are most important with regard to their jobs. The study said:

> This unique and monumental study, to which we often refer in this report, is based on a representative sample of 1,533 American workers at all occupational levels. When these workers were asked how important they regarded some 25 aspects of work, they ranked in order of importance:
>
> 1. Interesting work
> 2. Enough help and equipment to get the job done
> 3. Enough information to get the job done
> 4. Enough authority to get the job done
> 5. Good pay

6. Opportunity to develop special abilities
7. Job security
8. Seeing the results of one's work.[7]

The managers' responses to the next three questions, especially the white managers', generally support the findings of the Labor Department study. One question the managers were asked was: Just supposing you were going to choose a new job, which one of these things would be most important to you?

High Income
No Danger of Being Fired; Security
Lots of Free Time
Chances for Advancement
The Work is Important and Gives a Sense of Accomplishment
The Work is Interesting
The Work Gives Lots of Chances to Meet People
Other

Fifty percent of the Black managers and 73 percent of the white managers selected, as being the most important, either the work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment, or the work is interesting. The Black females are closer to the white managers in their responses than the Black males. For example, 65 percent of the Black females, compared to 46 percent of the Black males, selected either the work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment, or the work is interesting. Another difference which occurs between the Black males and females is that three times the percentage of Black males than females selected chances of advancement as the most important factor--26 percent of the Black males and 9 percent of the Black females. The Black males and females are quite similar with regard to the importance they place on salary--22 percent of the Black males and 19 percent of the Black females selected salary as the most important factor.

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[7] Work in America, p. 13.

The white males' and females' selections of the most important factors when choosing another job are quite similar.

When age is used as the control variable, 94 percent of the white managers 30 or younger selected as most important the interest and importance of their work, while only 41 percent of the Black managers 30 and younger selected these factors. Only one white manager 30 and younger selected income, compared to 24 percent of the Black managers. Sixteen percent of the Black managers in this age group selected advancement and none of the white managers. Similar differences but less severe are noticed among the 30-40 age group and even less in the over 40 age group.

The managers' selections of the most important factor when choosing a new job supports the proposition put forth in the introduction to this chapter that many employees need to feel that their work is important, gives a sense of accomplishment, and is interesting.

The 23 percent difference between the percent of Black managers and white managers who selected the work is important and interesting can probably be attributed to the fact that most of the white managers in this study are in secure, well-paying, middle and upper level management positions, while most of the Black managers are in low-paying, low level management positions; therefore, the white managers are more concerned with more aesthetic needs and the Black managers are more interested in practical needs such as money and chances for advancement.

Another reason the white managers select the importance of work and the sense of accomplishment more than the Black managers is that many of the white managers might be assuming that salary increases and chances for advancement will be a part of any job they have, while the Black managers cannot make such assumptions.

Table 4 shows which of these factors the managers believe would be most important if they were looking for another job.

When the managers were asked to indicate which of the remaining things would be second in importance and of least importance, the differences between the responses of the Black and white managers become increasingly smaller.[8]

B. Goals and aspirations

Not only do the Black managers consider advancement and salary more important than the white managers, but they also want to advance faster and reach the same levels of management as those to which the white managers aspire, if not higher levels.

Chart 1 shows the differences between the expected and desired times for promotion. This chart clearly indicates substantial differences between the Black and white managers' expected and desired times for their next promotions. For example, 43

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[8] See Appendix B, p. 555, for the frequency distribution of the managers' responses to these two questions.

TABLE 4

WHICH FACTOR WOULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT WHEN SELECTING A NEW JOB

Factors	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
The Work is Important and Gives a Sense of Accomplishment	42 %	60 %
Chances for Advancement	22	8
High Income	20	12
The Work is Interesting	8	13
No Danger of Being Fired; Security	3	2
The Work Gives Lots of Chances to Meet People	1	2
Lots of Free Time	1	1
Other	3	2
Total	100	100

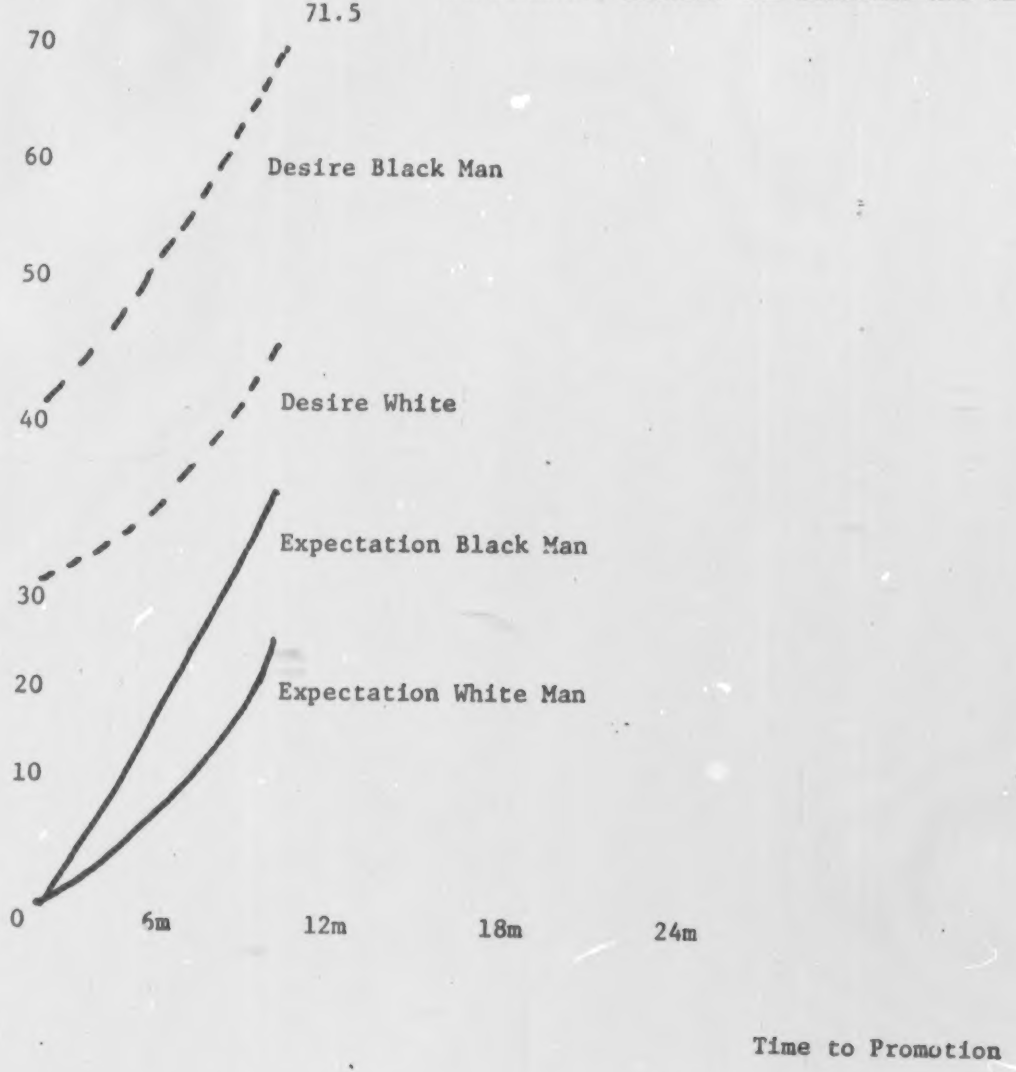
$p \leq .05$

percent of the Black and 28 percent of the white managers want to be advanced immediately, while no Black managers and only one white manager believe they will be advanced immediately. Also 72 percent of the Black and 48 percent of the white managers want to be promoted within at least one year, but only 35 percent of the Black and 23 percent of the white managers believe they actually will be advanced within the next year.

In general, the younger lower level Black and white managers want to be promoted sooner than the older middle and upper level managers.

CHART I

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXPECTED AND DESIRED TIMES FOR PROMOTION



As Table 5 shows, the level of management the Black and white managers would like to achieve is quite similar.

TABLE 5

LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT THE MANAGERS WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE

Level	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	White* Managers (N=156)
Lower Level**	2 %	6 %	9 %
Middle Level[9]	29	22	26
Upper Level	53	52	58
President	14	7	7
Stay at Present Level	2	13	0
Total	100	100	100

*This column includes the percentage of white managers who want to remain at their present levels.

**Even though all participants in this study were at least at lower level management, those who selected this level as their goal did so because they still have a number of steps within this level to which they could advance.

To this point, it has been shown that the Black managers (1) place much more emphasis on high income and chances for advancement than white managers, (2) would like to be promoted sooner than white managers, and (3) would like to achieve slightly higher positions than white managers. Thus, contrary to many of the white managers' stereotype beliefs, the Black managers are ambitious and in fact somewhat more ambitious than the white managers in this study.

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[9] There is a realistic attitude on the part of the less-educated Black managers with regard to their goals and aspirations in white corporations at this time. They realize that for Blacks to make upper management positions they must be super-qualified. They also realize that firms are placing greater emphasis on their managers' possessing college degrees. These factors explain why twenty-four of the twenty-nine Black managers who do not have bachelors degrees only want to achieve middle management positions and it also explains why 52 percent of the Black females, all of whom do not have college degrees, selected the middle level of management.

It is important to look in more detail at possible reasons why the goals and aspirations of the managers are only slightly different or, if anything, why the Black managers are more ambitious, considering the fact that more than 60 percent of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds and more than 60 percent of the white managers come from middle and upper class backgrounds.

As was pointed out in Chapter II, many studies[10] have shown that middle class people have higher occupational aspirations than lower class people primarily because of more counseling and encouragement from parents. While this explanation applies to the white managers, it does not seem to pertain to the Black managers' situation.

When the managers' aspirations are correlated with the mothers' and fathers' educational achievement and fathers' occupational achievement, it is found that those white managers whose fathers and/or mothers were highly educated and those white managers whose fathers were in high professional and/or managerial positions have higher aspirations than those managers whose parents did not possess these characteristics. For example, 84 percent of those white managers whose fathers had at least bachelors degrees, compared to 57 percent of those whose fathers had only a high school diploma or less aspire to be or already are upper level managers.

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[10] Harry J. Crochett, Jr., "Psychological Origins of Mobility," in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago, 1966), pp. 280-309. Eli Ginzberg, et al., Occupational Choice (New York, 1951), p. 78. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhart Bendix, Social Mobility in an Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958).

With regard to the Black managers this trend is not as clear as it is for the white managers. Sixty-five percent of the Black managers whose fathers had only a high school diploma or less and 68 percent whose fathers had at least bachelors degrees aspire to become upper level managers.

The primary reason that Blacks from the lower class have similar aspirations to those from the middle class is that even though their parents were not from the middle class, their parents have expected them to get an education, work hard, and make something of themselves. Goodwin found support for this contention when he noted that poor people hold just as strong work ethics as the middle class. He also noted that poor Black children whose families were on welfare had a much more positive work ethic attitude than white middle class children.[11]

Another possible influence on the Black managers' goals and aspirations is how far they perceive Blacks can go in their companies. It is quite probable that if Black managers believe the highest a Black can go in their companies is the middle level of management, they might at first want to become members of the upper level of management but after a time they might either revise their goals downward because they believe it is impossible to achieve upper management or they might leave their companies. As Wilensky and Lebeaux said:

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[11] Goodwin, passim.

> Thwarted mobility aspirations may lead to quite different adjustments, however. Chinoy . . . reports the reactions of a group of auto workers (mostly Census "semi-skilled") to the disparity between the promises of the American Creed and the realities of their own experience. He suggests that these workers have redefined "getting ahead": they scale down their ambitions to small goals obtainable in the shop; they include security and material possessions in the concept of "getting ahead" . . . .[12]

In analyzing how far up the occupational ladder the Black managers believe a Black can go in their companies and the desired positions the Black managers want to achieve, 63 percent of those Black managers who will remain with their firms desire to achieve positions in the upper level of management. More than half of them believe a Black can make it to at least upper management positions; of the 35 percent who desire to achieve positions up to the middle level of management, only one-quarter believe Blacks can make it to upper managerial levels. From these figures it seems that some Black managers might base their goals and aspirations at least in part on their impressions of how far a Black can go in their companies. Twenty-one of the twenty-four Black managers who said they might leave their firms[13] believe a Black can only go to middle management and nineteen of them want to achieve at least upper management positions. This suggests that many Black managers, especially if they are educated and have high ambitions, will leave their firms if they believe there is a barrier at some low level of management over which they cannot cross.

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[12] Wilensky and Lebeaux, p. 111.

C. Major obstacles

Many of the Black and white managers believe there are major obstacles preventing them from achieving their desired goals--56 percent and 47 percent, respectively.

There are no large differences between those managers who believe there are obstacles and those managers who do not when the positions the managers eventually would like to achieve are correlated with whether they believe there are major obstacles preventing them from achieving their positions.

Many of those Black managers who indicated that there are not any major obstacles believe this because they believe in themselves and their abilities. For example, one Black lower level female manager from Triple C Bank rated her chances of obtaining an upper middle management position as good and does not feel there are any major obstacles in the way of her obtaining this position on the basis of her experience and qualifications, but she said that "other things might hinder my progress." The most probable "other thing" hindering her position is discrimination. She along with 65 percent of the Black managers in this study wants to achieve upper management positions, but only 33 percent believe that their firms will allow qualified Blacks to reach upper management.

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[13] Twenty-one percent of the most educated, generally younger Black managers who are the most ambitious indicated that they intend to leave their firms.

Table 6 lists the obstacles the managers believe are hindering their chances for advancement.

Some interesting comments with regard to what the managers believe are the major obstacles hindering their progress follow:

A Black lower level female manager from Ace Public Utility who rated her chances as fair for reaching middle management: "I lack a college degree. If you asked me three months ago I would have said that being Black and a female would go against you; however, now they go for you."

A white lower level manager from the same company rated his chances of reaching upper management as fair and believes the major obstacles is his company's new emphasis on promoting women: "A numbers game is being played with regard to the employment of women since in the past they have been discriminated against. It will probably just be 'window-dressing'--a little more than tokenism. They will probably put a woman where I would be promoted to."

A white middle level manager from Triple C Bank who wanted to become an upper middle level manager rated his chances of

TABLE 6

MAJOR OBSTACLES THE MANAGERS BELIEVE ARE HINDERING THEIR CHANCES FOR ADVANCEMENT

Major Obstacles	Black Managers (N=65)	White Managers (N=73)
Race, i.e., being Black	44 %	0 %
Lack of education	32	36
Great competition; only a few jobs at that level; only a few positions and those holding them are not about to retire	9	12
Sex, i.e., being female	7	4
Lack of seniority	7	1
Lack of specific technical, scientific, or professional skills; not being in the specific area to get the position	6	8
Age, i.e., too old	3	14
Lack of diverse experiences	3	11
Age, i.e., too young	1	3
Lack political influence	0	8
Other	14	21
Total*	126	118

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*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers believe there are a number of major obstacles.

getting a position at that level as excellent, but he believes his lack of a college degree would be a major obstacle to his achieving that level.

Finally, a Black middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing who rated his chances as poor for reaching upper management said the major obstacles are "the apathy and ultra-racist conservatism of private institutions" such as his firm. Incidentally, he is satisfied with his progress thus far.

D. Summary and Conclusions of the Managers' Attitudes about Selecting New Jobs, Their Future Progress in Their Companies and Their Goals

Several important facts were discussed in this section which have significant implications for the business community. The first is that many of the Black managers are presently satisfied with their progress primarily because of their short periods of time with their firms.

The second is that the Black managers, as do the white managers, place a great deal of importance on a job being interesting and the work being important and giving a sense of accomplishment, but many Black managers also place a great deal of emphasis on salary and chances for advancement, indicating they are more ambitious than whites.

The third is that overall the Black managers expect and desire to be promoted sooner than the white managers. The fourth is the long range goal of 67 percent of them to become members of the upper level of management but only 33 percent believe their firms will allow them to reach upper management. The fifth is that 21 percent of the Black managers--75 percent of whom are college educated--plan to leave their firms primarily because they do not believe their firms are equal opportunity employers.

The important implication these facts have for firms is that since many firms are not sincerely committed to equal employment opportunities, it is quite obvious that Black managers, especially the young college educated Blacks, will soon become dissatisfied with their immediate progress and with their companies in general. These dissatisfied managers will either leave their firms or become very disenchanted, dissatisfied managers who either will not be able to perform their jobs properly because of their dissatisfcation or will purposely not perform their jobs properly because of their dissatisfaction. It is more likely they would leave their firms. For example, 92 percent of those managers leaving their firms answered at least five of the seven questions about their companies' employment policies toward Blacks negatively, compared to 55 percent of those who will stay with their firms.

It is clear that no firm will be able to achieve any reasonable affirmative action goals, if they have a 25 percent turnover rate of Black managers, especially the highly educated and motivated Blacks. Put another way, while these firms will retain many average Black managers, as they do whites, they will never be able to build up a pool of highly talented Black managers from which they can select Blacks to be promoted to higher managerial positions.

It is also clear that the overall difference between the expected and desired times for advancement can create a serious problem for firms, especially with the more rigorous enforcement of equal employment laws. It was noted in Chapter III that with the present economic slowdown and overstaffing at middle and upper management, many Black and white managers have become disenchanted with their progress. Because the emphasis on affirmative action coincided with the economic slowdown, and the discovery of overstaffing at the middle and upper levels, many white managers are grumbling that they are not being promoted because only Blacks are being promoted and many Blacks who expected to be promoted attribute their lack of promotional opportunities only to continuous racial discrimination in their firms. This situation can lead to direct confrontation, if not dealt with properly.

In concluding, corporations should not place Black managers, or any managers for that matter, in unimportant, uninteresting, low-paying jobs with little chances for advancement because it will lead to dissatisfied managers who will probably leave their firms and/or will become problem employees. As Richard J. Campbell noted for all managers, "mobility is the mark of success for the new breed of manager--if advancement is slow, he/she should and will seek greener pastures."[14]

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[14] R. J. Campbell, unpublished article, AT&T, "Attitudes, Expectations, and Career Mobility." See also Robert J. Albrook, "Why It's Harder to Keep Good Executives," Fortune, Nov., 1968, pp. 137-180; Eugene Emerson Jennings, The Mobile Manager (Ann, Arbor, Mich., 1967).

The Managers' Work Environment

Chris Argyris wrote in the introduction to Alfred J. Morrow's book, The Failure of Success:

> Problems are equally severe at management levels, where incompetent organizational structures create executive environments lacking in trust, openness, and risk taking. The attitudes that flourish best in such environments are conformity and defensiveness, which often find expression in an organizational tendency to produce detailed information for unimportant problems and invalid information for important ones. This tendency ensures ineffective problem solving, poor decision making, and weak commitment to the decisions made.[15]

In the past twenty years psychologists and sociologists have stressed the importance of good working relationships, which are enhanced by the lack of role ambiguity, as important factors in improving and/or maintaining organizational efficiency.[16]

More explicitly, if on the one hand a manager does not have a good work relationship[17] with his immediate work group (subordinates, peers, and superiors), his/her organizational role will be ambiguous primarily because the lack of trust, support, and interest will lead to a lack of necessary information for the manager. On the other hand, if a manager is in an ambiguous role (he/she lacks adequate information about his/her roles, the extent of his/her responsibilities and information necessary to carry them out), this ambiguity will lead to poor work relationships and conflicts which lead to job dissatisfaction.[18] Caplan and French concluded:

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[15] Chris Argyris, "A Few Words in Advance," in Alfred J. Morrow, ed., The Failure of Success (New York, 1972), pp. 3-4.

[16] For example, see: Chris Argyris, "T-Groups for Organizational Effectiveness," Harvard Business Review (March-April, 1964), 60-74. Rensis Likert, The Human Organization: Its Management and Value (New York, 1967). Rensis Likert, New Patterns of Management (New York, 1961). Douglas McGregor, The Human Side of Enterprise (New York, 1960).

[17] Good working relationships are characterized by high trust, high supportiveness, and high interest among and between subordinates, peers, and superiors in solving problems which confront organizational members.

> We have already mentioned a variety of other stresses, in addition to that of low participation, which are also accompanied by low job satisfaction and/or job-related threat. These stresses include poor relations with others, role conflict, role ambiguity, and quantitative and qualitative overload. Of all the stresses we have considered, low participation has the greatest harmful effect on job satisfaction and threat. This means that participation is a relatively important determinant of psychological well-being.
>
> Since participation is also significantly correlated with low role ambiguity, good relations with others, and low overload, it is conceivable that its effects are widespread, and that all the relationships between these other stresses and psychological strain can be accounted for in terms of how much the person participates. This, in fact, appears to be the case. When we control or hold constant, through statistical analysis techniques, the amount of participation a person reports, then the correlations between all the above stresses and job satisfaction and job-related threat drop quite noticeably. This suggests that low participation generates these related stresses, and that increasing participation is an efficient way of reducing many other stresses which also lead to psychological strain.[19]

Because of the important role participation plays in the managers' satisfaction with their jobs, in this section the managers' responses to questions about their general work environment will be discussed with special emphasis placed on the managers' views of their job responsibilities, their power and authority to make and influence decisions and their relationships with their superiors.

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[18] Robert D. Caplan and John R. P. French, "Organization Stress and Individual Strain," in Morrow, p. 51.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Rather than discuss each question separately, which would be confusing and time-consuming, the managers' responses to each question will be listed, and an overall index of six of the major questions will be analyzed.

The central proposition put forth to the managers was: All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain kinds of things in our work. Listed below are a number of examples of things that sometimes bother people. We would like you to respond to each example in terms of how frequently you feel bothered by each of them. Table 7 shows the managers' responses.

As one can see from the responses, the Black managers are generally bothered more by these things in their work environment than the white managers. This is not surprising, but it is surprising that in view of their extremely negative views of their companies' employment policies towards Blacks and the racial atmosphere which exists in their firms an even higher percentage of Black managers are not bothered by these factors.

In order to obtain a more concise and consistent view of the managers' responses to six of the most important questions regarding factors which bother the managers in their work environment, an index was formed. The six questions which make up the index are:

TABLE 7

WHAT BOTHERS THE MANAGERS IN THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

Examples	Never		Rarely		Rather Often		Nearly All the Time	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
The possibility of losing your job. $p \leq .30$	53 %	63 %	42 %	34 %	5 %	3 %	0 %	0 %
Not knowing what your superior thinks of you, how he evaluates your performance. $p \leq .05$	31	31	43	54	16	13	10	2
Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with. $p \leq .01$	51	32	42	66	5	2	2	0
Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may interfere with how well it gets done. $p \leq .05$	28	14	41	44	27	38	5	4
The fact that you can't get information needed to carry out your job. $p \leq .05$	31	30	41	53	22	16	5	1

TABLE 7 (continued)

Examples	Never		Rarely		Rather Often		Nearly All the Time	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are. p≤.02	33 %	30 %	44 %	59 %	20 %	11 %	3 %	1 %
Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you. p≤.01	28	16	36	68	32	15	4	1
Feeling unable to influence your immediate superior's decisions and actions that affect you. p≤.01	21	11	56	74	17	14	6	1
Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment. p≤.01	22	27	48	62	23	10	6	1
Thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you. p≤.01	34	12	53	68	12	19	2	1

> How frequently are you bothered by feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you?
>
> How frequently are you bothered by being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are?
>
> How frequently are you bothered by thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you?
>
> How frequently are you bothered by not knowing what your superior thinks of you, how he evaluates your performance?
>
> How frequently are you bothered by feeling unable to influence your immediate superior's decisions and actions that affect you?
>
> How frequently are you bothered by having to do things on the job that are against your better judgment?

Tables 8 and 9 show the percentage of managers by race, sex, and managerial level who answered the questions unfavorably. A score of one is given for a response of rather often or nearly all the time and no score is given for a response of never or rarely.

These two tables show more concisely that overall the Black managers are bothered by more things in their work environment than the white managers. Also the female managers in lower level positions are the most bothered by their work environment. In analyzing more defined groups, which in some cases have relatively few numbers in each cell, it is found that white females in middle and upper management positions, all of whom are over 30, and Black middle level managers 30

TABLE 8

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

Overall Views	Black Males Lower (N=60)	Black Males Middle (N=33)	Black Females Lower (N=22)	Black Females Middle (N=1)
Not at all Bothered (0)	38 %	38 %	29 %	0 %
Somewhat Bothered (1-2)	43	36	39	0
Most Bothered (3-6)	19	26	32	100
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 9

THE WHITE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

Overall Views	White Males Lower (N=33)	White Males Middle (N=72)	White Males Upper (N=28)	White Females Lower (N=16)	White Females Middle (N=5)	White Females Upper (N=2)
Not at all Bothered (0)	50 %	55 %	58 %	44 %	60 %	100 %
Somewhat Bothered (1-2)	40	39	39	13	40	0
Most Bothered (3-6)	10	6	3	43	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

and younger are least frequently bothered by their work environment. (All are involved in managing people.)

After the young white and Black females in lower management positions, the most bothered group with their work environment are the older Black middle level managers with four or less years of service in their present company, all of whom have had a great deal of experience in outside jobs. Most of them are involved in staff jobs related to Black consumer markets and/or employees. The few older white managers in middle management are not bothered by very much in their work environment.

There are more similarities between the Black and white lower level managers than there are between the Black and white middle level managers. It seems that as whites move up the executive ladder, they are bothered by fewer things in their work environment, while there is a tendency for Blacks to be more bothered as they move up the executive ladder. This is a result of most Blacks who make it to middle management positions being placed in non-administrative, non-decision making positions with little or no responsibility. In contrast, as most whites move up the ladder, they receive administrative and decision making positions with more responsibility and authority than they had at lower management positions.

Several studies have noted that as white managers move up the occupational hierarchy, their job satisfaction increases.[20]

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[20] See also: G. Gurin, J. Veroff, and S. Feld, Americans View Their Mental Health (New York, 1960. L. W. Porter, "A Study

For example, Campbell, et al. noted:

> In organizations, managers typically report higher general job satisfaction than nonmanagers. In fact, taking the labor force as a whole, the only group to show consistently higher satisfaction is that made up of members of the professions . . . . Higher level managers also tend to report more satisfaction than lower level managers . . . .[21]

Forty-one percent of the Black managers who intend to leave their firms are bothered by at least three of the six situations, compared to 17 percent of the Black managers who intend to remain with their firms. They also make up eight of the fourteen or 57 percent of those who are bothered by four or more of the factors in their work situations. From these figures it is clear that firms must make the work environment more agreeable, if they intend to keep their young, educated Black managers.

It is interesting to note that the Black managers who are bothered by more of the work environment situations are those Blacks who are in such areas as personnel and urban affairs, followed by those in the scientific areas and accounting and computer science areas. The most satisfied Black managers are those

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of Perceived Need Satisfactions in Bottom and Middle Management Jobs," Journal of Applied Psychology, 45 (1961), 1-10. L. W. Porter, "Job Attitudes in Management. I. Perceived Deficiencies in Need Fulfillment as a Function of Job Level," Journal of Applied Psychology, 46 (1962), 375-384. V. H. Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York, 1964). V. H. Vroom, Motivation in Management (New York, 1965).

[21] John P. Campbell, Marvin D. Dunnette, Edward E. Lawler, and Karl E. Weich, Managerial Behavior, Performance, and Effectiveness (New York, 1970), p. 379.

in administrative and banking positions. The Black managers in the former positions have very little, if any, decision making power and influence, while the Blacks in the latter areas have more decision making power and influence because it is inherent in their positions.

When the responses of the Black and white managers to the six questions are averaged for each company, some interesting comparisons become evident. The Black and white managers in Triple A Bank have, on the average, similar overall feelings about their work environment. The biggest differences between the Black and white managers occur in the two companies with the weakest Affirmative Action Programs, Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility. In fact the white managers in these companies are the least bothered with their work environment and the Black managers among the most bothered. The white managers in Ace Public Utility are the most dissatisfied group of white managers.

The smallest difference between the Black and white managers' responses occurs in Ace Public Utility, a large part of the managers' being bothered by these situations could be attributed to the company's characteristics, i.e., there could be an overall management style which makes both the Black and white managers feel bothered by their work environment.

A. Summary and Conclusions of the Managers' Work Environment

In sum: Approximately one-third of the Black managers, compared to more than half of the white managers, are completely satisfied with their work environment. On the negative end of the scale, i.e., those managers who are most bothered by things in their work situation, more than double the percent of the Black managers compared to white managers fit into this category. The young Black and white females are more bothered by things in their work environment than the males. There is also a great deal more dissatisfaction among the older Black middle level managers than among their white peers. Finally, much more dissatisfaction exists among the Black lower and middle level managers who have been with their firms less than four years than those who have been with their firms for longer periods of time. This creates a very serious problem for the firms. As was noted before, these educated Black managers are the ones the firms indicate they are depending on to fulfill their Affirmative Action Programs. The consequences of a bothersome work environment, as has been pointed out before, will make the managers dissatisfied and disgruntled employees who either will not perform their jobs as best as they could or will leave their companies. Thus, the firms will never be able to achieve any affirmative action goals beyond the lower level of management.

The Managers' Satisfaction with Several Important Factors

In this section the managers' satisfaction with their work group, the type of work they are doing, their salaries, and their companies in general will be discussed.

The questions and responses will be presented in the same format as the questions and responses in the previous section. The general proposition was: Please answer the following questions in terms of how satisfied you are with each. Table 10 lists the questions and responses.

When one considers the Black managers' views of their companies' employment policies and their satisfaction, it is surprising that a higher percentage of Blacks are not satisfied with their work group, the work they do and their company in general.

There are greater differences between the white and Black managers on these questions than those questions dealing with what situations bother them in their work environment. More than double the percentage of white managers than Black managers are completely satisfied with their progress, salary, work group, type of work, and company in general.

Once again it would be helpful to obtain an index consisting of the managers' responses by race, sex and managerial level to their satisfaction with their progress, work group, type of work, salary and company in general. Tables 11 and 12 show the percentage of managers who answered not very satisfied or not satisfied at all on the five questions, i.e., those managers who gave the previous answers received a score of one and those who did not received no score.

In general, both the Black and white females are more dissatisfied than the males with the previous factors, as was the

TABLE 10

THE MANAGERS' SATISFACTION WITH SELECTED ITEMS

Selected Items	Completely Satisfied		Very Satisfied		Not Very Satisfied		Not at All Satisfied	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
With the group you work with.	14 %	13 %	56 %	80 %	30 %	7 %	0 %	0 %
With the type of work you do.	22	33	60	59	17	7	1	1
With your salary.	7	16	35	59	47	23	12	3
With your company in general.	12	24	57	68	26	8	5	0

TABLE 11

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH THEIR JOB SITUATION

Overall Views	Black Males Lower (N=60)	Black Males Middle (N=33)	Black Females Lower (N=22)	Black Females Middle (N=1)
Completely Satisfied (0)	23 %	36 %	23 %	0 %
Satisfied (1-2)	45	36	53	0
Not Very Satisfied (3-5)	32	28	24	100
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 12

THE WHITE MANAGERS' OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH THEIR JOB SITUATION

Overall Views	White Males Lower (N=33)	White Males Middle (N=72)	White Males Upper (N=28)	White Females Lower (N=16)	White Females Middle (N=5)	White Females Upper (N=2)
Completely Satisfied (0)	39 %	55 %	93 %	50 %	100 %	50 %
Satisfied (1-2)	45	42	7	31	0	50
Not Very Satisfied (3-5)	16	3	0	19	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

case regarding the questions about their work environment, except the differences between the sexes of the same race are not as large as they are with regard to the work environment. Both the Black males and females were more dissatisfied than their white counterparts.

The most educated white managers are the most satisfied, while the most educated Black managers are the least satisfied. This difference is caused by the fact that the educated white managers can look forward to their education providing them better opportunities than the uneducated white managers and the educated Black managers, while the educated Black managers are generally given less opportunities than the uneducated white managers and much less opportunities than the educated white managers.

Those lower and middle level Black managers with four or less years of service make up the highest percentage of dissatisfied Black managers. For example, of the nineteen Black males in lower management who were most dissatisfied, 59 percent have been with their firms less than four years and five of the eight middle level Black male managers who were most dissatisfied have been with their firms less than four years. However, the Black female managers with more than four years of service are the most dissatisfied group of managers. Five of the six Black females who were most dissatisfied have between four and twelve years of service.

With regard to more specifically defined groups, the white lower level female managers 30 and younger are the most dissatisfied group of managers with the previous five factors along with the Black middle level managers 30 and younger. While the former group is also the most dissatisfied with their work environment, the latter group is one of the most satisfied groups. The white males in middle management who are 30 and younger are very satisfied, as are the white female managers in middle and upper management positions.

Even though older Black middle level managers are more satisfied with their company, etc., than the Black lower level managers, they are much more dissatisfied than the older white middle level managers.

In the previous section on work atmosphere, it was discovered that Triple A Bank has the most satisfied Black managers. Again, this is true for overall job satisfaction. The second most satisfied group of Black managers comes from Ace Public Utility. The most dissatisfied Black managers are in Cousins and Aunts Manufacturing, the two sister companies. Eighty percent of the Blacks in these two firms have at least bachelors degrees and half have advanced degrees. This clearly indicates that the educated Black managers are the most dissatisfied with the corporate world.

Summary and Conclusions

One of the most important findings in this chapter is that the Black managers are not as dissatisfied with their work environment and jobs in terms of progress, type of work, work group, salary, and company in general, as one might expect from their negative views about the fairness of their companies' employment policies. The primary reason most of the Black managers are satisfied with their progress is that many of them have not been with their firms for long periods of time and have been satisfied with their progress thus far. The writer noted that dissatisfaction among Black managers will increase because most of the firms in this study are not committed to equal employment opportunities. While 67 percent of the Black managers who intend to remain with their firms want to achieve at least upper managerial positions, only 34 percent believe that Blacks can achieve such positions in their firms due to barriers created by racial discrimination.

Those Black managers who do not intend to remain with their firms, 21 percent, are generally very well educated and have very negative views of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks. They do not believe they will be able to fulfill their goals and aspirations in their present companies.

With regard to the things that bother managers in their work environment and their job satisfaction in terms of type of work, work group, salary, and company in general, the younger, more educated Black managers are the most dissatisfied. Again they are the most likely to leave their firms. Overall only 16 percent of the Black managers, compared to 39 percent of the white managers, are not bothered with things in their work environment and are completely satisfied with their job and company.

The fact that the younger, more educated Black managers who have high goals and ambitions, who are bothered by many things in their work environment, and who are dissatisfied with their general job situation are most likely to leave their firms supports Friedlander and Walton's findings based on a study of white managers. They found that decisions to remain with companies are based primarily on perceived opportunities for self-development, personal growth, and challenging assignments.

The younger lower level female managers both Black and white are generally more dissatisfied with their present overall work situations. The HEW study noted:

> Much of the work that women currently do outside their homes deflates their self-images. The majority of the worst white-collar jobs probably are held by women: keypunch operators, telephone company operators, and clerical workers. Women are also over-represented on assembly-lines--the worst jobs in the economy. Yet, as the Survey of Working Conditions showed, women tend to derive the same satisfaction as men do from the intrinsic rewards of work--when they are available. The Survey also found, however, that women are nearly twice as likely as men to express negative attitudes toward their present jobs. The cause of this dissatisfaction seems to lie in the discrepancy between women's high expectations about work and the actual low social and economic statuses of their jobs. Education is another important variable. A recent study of The Quality of Life shows that college educated women are most happy if they have jobs, and less happy if they don't (presumably because they tend to have more interesting jobs); married women without college educations are not necessarily less happy if they don't have jobs (presumably because of the less interesting jobs that are available to them).[22]

Finally, there is a negative relationship between the level of management the Black managers have achieved and their overall satisfaction with their work environment, while the contrary is true for the white managers. Campbell noted:

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[22] Work in America, p. 58.

> The results show that middle management men have more positive attitudes than lower level managers. If only year eight data were available, we might conclude that since middle managers generally have more responsibility, higher pay, and status that this alone accounts for their higher personal satisfaction, job satisfaction, etc.[23]

The most important implication of the findings in this chapter is that none of the firms will be able to build a large pool of Black managers from which to select those to promote to higher managerial positions unless they truly begin to be equal opportunity employers. Those young, educated Black managers whom many firms will have to depend on to become middle and upper level managers will not remain with their firms if they are dissatisfied with their general job situation and believe their opportunities are limited.

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[23] R. Campbell, p. 10.

CHAPTER IX

MINORITY MANAGERS IN A MAJORITY SETTING

Introduction

This chapter deals with being Black in a virtually all white bureaucracy and the effect that has on the Black managers' relationship with their community.

That corporations can create strong pressures to conform to bureaucratic cultures and the enterprise way of life is plain. That these pressures to conform are often offset by the loyalties and values employees bring to the work place from outside is equally plain.

Wilensky and Ladinsky note that there is a general paradox in modern social order. On the one hand, modern bureaucratic organizations create much occupational specialization and social heterogeneity, but on the other hand, modern bureaucratic organizations draw people away from their race, ethnic, religious and local ties into the national mainstream. In their words:

> In analysis of the shape of the modern social order, the paradox of increasing heterogeneity and increasing homogeneity is prominent. Economic growth everywhere increases occupational and organizational specialization and makes for greater social heterogeneity; separate worlds of workplace and occupational group multiply. At the same time, older sources of diversity--the parochial loyalties of race, religion, ethnicity,

> and locality--recede in the face of powerful means of communication and transportation and greatly increased rates of social mobility; Everyman shares in the common culture.
>
> The ways in which modernization affects the hold of religion, ethnicity, race, and locality are little known. We have neither base-line data from which to measure change nor any systematic knowledge of the relative strength of various group ties as they play out in the lives of persons variously located. Yet a central issue in the understanding of modern societies remains--under what conditions and in what groups and strata do occupational cultures (rooted in common tasks, work schedules, job training, and career patterns) and corporate cultures (rooted in the organizational context of work) overcome other sources of behavior? When does work shape social life more than ethnic-religious cultures (sustained by common descent and early socialization) or class cultures (sustained by common occupational stratum and similar levels of income and education) or "community" and "neighborhood" cultures (sustained by demographic and ecological features of the locality)?[1]

Wilensky and Ladinsky hypothesized:

> . . . we would expect successful minority men (Jews and Catholics) who find themselves in majority contexts--occupations and workplaces dominated by established Protestant elites--to epitomize the process of structural assimilation; in their ties to kin, friend and formal association, they should be escaping from the religious community of origin and moving into the occupational or corporate community of destination . . . .[2]

They found substantial evidence of such structural assimilation among lawyers, professors, and engineers in six work settings:

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[1] Harold L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky, "From Religious Community to Occupational Group: Structural Assimilation Among Professors, Lawyers, and Engineers," American Sociological Review, 32 (August, 1967), 241-242.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

> If our deviant ethnics minority men in a majority setting are typical, this (mixing of ethnic groups) will not be the social and cultural blending of the "melting pot," nor the autonomy of "cultural pluralism," but old-fashioned Anglo-Conformity, which remains the most common form of assimilation, in practice if not in ideology. For the new men in higher circles, occupation will not merely be a way of life; it will be the death of the religious community.[3]

Using data on the careers of middle level Canadian civil servants, the Francophone minority and Anglophone majority, C. F. Beattie specified and elaborated on the Wilensky-Ladinsky hypotheses about the type of manager who is most likely to assimilate and the conditions which foster this assimilation process. He found that men in technical tasks are less likely to become "organizational men" than those in "high-flying creative fields." He suggested three explanations: First, managers in technical and supervisory activities can separate their work activities from their outside social activities, friends, and kin more easily than managers in administrative, human relations, or community relations positions. Second, technical work requires dependable consistent performance; a "pleasing personality" is not very important. And third, promotions in such technical areas are "awarded to the few who demonstrate technical proficiency in a relatively open contest." Thus, he concluded that these technical jobs allow the Francophones to maintain their ethnic identity because of the general lack of pressure to conform to the majority Anglophone community.[4]

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[3] *Ibid*., pp. 558-559.

In addition to these forces inside the "economic sphere," Beattie noted three other factors affecting ethnic identity. First, if minority people are able to live in an ethnic neighborhood, or be geographically close to a large ethnic neighborhood of their origins, it will be easier for them to maintain ties with their own ethnic group, whatever the pressures for conformity to majority ways at work are. Another was that the more negative reactions people receive about their ethnic background, the more likely they will try to assimilate into the majority setting, i.e., the more likely they will try to play down their ethnic origins. The final factor which he believed affects the minority-majority relationship is the role the government plays in enhancing and approving more close relationships.

Because of these four factors shaping majority-minority relations Beattie cautioned social scientists not to generalize Wilensky and Ladinsky's conclusions about the strong assimilation tendencies of Jews and Catholics in Protestant dominated workplaces and apply them to other religious-ethnic groups.

Even though Wilensky and Ladinsky aimed at general propositions about religious minorities, they also made the important observation that structural assimilation of different ethnic and racial groups varies greatly and that because of the unique situation of Blacks their structural assimilation is problematic.[5]

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[4] C. F. Beattie, "Minority Men in a Majority Setting: Middle Level Francophones at Mid-Career in the Anglophone Public Service of Canada" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970).

To grasp the Black managers' situation in a majority setting, one must begin with the emergence of a new mood in the 1960's. In the 1960's the Black Power and Black Separatist Movements gained great momentum. After 100 years of attempting to integrate into white society, with little success, many Blacks decided that integration was not an achievable or even a desirable goal at the present time or in the near future. Also in the 1960's some corporations began to make more than token efforts to hire Blacks for professional and managerial positions.

These two developments of the mid-1960's created a poignant dilemma for Black people. On the one hand, Blacks were finally obtaining a few opportunities to participate in the corporate world; on the other hand, some Blacks denounced other Blacks for taking advantage of their new opportunities. Many Black Power advocates and Separatists believe that Black people working in corporations are undermining the Black movement's aim of developing viable Black economic institutions. They say that corporations physically and psychologically remove Black people from their communities; as a result the Black communities are deprived of the knowledge, technical skills and expertise possessed by the Black corporate officials that are so vitally needed for Black economic development.

The Black managers' dilemma reflects the more general dilemma of upwardly mobile marginal men and women everywhere. E. C.

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[5] Wilensky and Ladinsky, pp. 560-561.

Hughes notes that everyone who enters a profession, a corporation, or even a new position must conform to its norms to some degree. However, the Black professionals face this dilemma in sharpened form:

> If he accepts the role of the Negro to the extent of appearing content with less than full equality and intimacy with his white colleagues, for the sake of such security and advantage as can be so got, he himself and others may accuse him of sacrificing his race. Given the tendency of whites to say that any Negro who rises to a special position is an exception, there is a strong temptation for such a Negro to seek advantage by fostering the idea that he is unlike others of his race. The devil who specializes in this temptation is a very insinuating fellow; he keeps a mailing list of "marginal men" of all kinds and origins. Incidentally, one of the by-products of American mores is the heavy moral burden which this temptation puts upon the host of Americans who have by great effort risen from (sic) groups which are the objects of prejudice.[6]

In this study, a white middle level manager expressed concern of many other white managers about Black managers' relationships to their communities. He sees a conflict between their community loyalties and their business loyalties: "They demonstrate a humanistic outlook--they are keenly aware of the plight of their subordinates. There seems to be a conflict between the Black managers' relationship to their communities and their loyalties to their companies which could take away from their overall effectiveness."

Like Beattie, Alvin F. Poussaint, a well-known Black psychiatrist, observed that if an ethnic group is looked down upon, the members are more likely to attempt to assimilate into the majority setting:

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[6] E. C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (New York, 1958), p. 113.

> Most psychiatrists and psychologists would agree that the Negro American suffers from a marred self-image, of varying degree, which critically affects his entire psychological being. It is also a well-documented fact that this negative self-concept leads to self-destructive attitudes and behavior that hinder the Negro's struggle toward full equality in American life. Civil rights leaders have long been aware of the need to build a positive sense of identity in the Negro masses . . .
>
> Not only have Black men been taught that Blackness is evil and Negroes "no-good," they have, in addition, been continually brainwashed that only "white is right." It was the light-skinned Negroes with straight hair who were allowed to elevate themselves in America. Of course, the white people suggested, and Negroes came to believe, that such Negroes were better because they had much "white blood." And there are still cliques of light-skinned Negroes in our communities who reject their darker brothers. Black men were taught to despise their kinky hair, broad nose, and thick lips. Our "black" magazines pushed the straightening of hair and bleaching cream as major weapons in the Negro's fight for social acceptability and psychological comfort.[7]

Because of the natural conforming forces of bureaucracies and the psychological oppression Blacks have lived under in this country, many people, Black and white, believe that Blacks who become members of the corporate world will leave the Black communities and attempt to assimilate completely into the dominant white culture.

But this idea applies to only a small fraction of Black managers. There are several reasons for this position. First,

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[7] Alvin F. Poussaint, "The Negro American: His Self-Image and Integration," in Floyd B. Barbour, ed., The Black Power Revolt (Boston, 1968), pp. 94, 96.

Blacks can never assimilate completely into white society because white society will never allow Blacks to forget that they are Black first and American citizens second. Racial minorities are different from ethnic-religious minorities: religious affiliation and ethnic origin can, in most cases, be easily hidden, but an individual's color cannot. Second, discrimination against Blacks is caused not only by visibility, but by the legacy of slavery. Blacks are not new arrivals in this country. The history of racism is 400 years old, not 40 or 50 years old, and more importantly is dominated by the institution of slavery. This history has brought about psychological problems in Black-white relationships which are deeper and more serious than psychological problems between white ethnic groups. Third, especially in the past 30 years and despite centuries of physical and psychological oppression, most Blacks have developed very positive views of their Blackness and a sense of commitment to other Black people. They realize that as long as any of their Black brothers and sisters are oppressed they too will be oppressed. Moreover, the vast majority of the Black managers are generally in jobs which deal with the Black community and/or Black employees; therefore, those Black managers who may wish to assimilate completely into white society can never do so because if their white brothers and sisters allow them to fool themselves, which is unlikely considering the white managers' racial attitudes and the racial atmosphere in their companies, the Black community and other Black workers will not allow them to forget their origins.

Black managers generally work in corporations which are located in cities with large Black populations. Equally important, they live in either all Black areas or, typically, in integrated neighborhoods with large Black populations; therefore, as Beattie noted, they are more likely not to assimilate. Finally, the federal government does not seem to be fostering Black assimilation into white society, especially with regard to residential desegregation. For these reasons one cannot expect Blacks to repeat the cycle of social mobility and assimilation which other ethnic groups have followed.

The following pages will present substantial data which will support the position that while there are some integrationist tendencies among many Black managers, only a very small number seem to desire to integrate and assimilate completely into white society. A review of some supportive evidence which was presented in Chapters II, V, and VI will be helpful.

In Chapter II it was noted that 91 percent of the Black managers live in neighborhoods where other Blacks live. More specifically, only 25 percent of the Black managers live in neighborhoods where Blacks make up only 10 percent or less. On the other hand, 66 percent of the Black managers live in areas where Blacks make up 46 percent or more of the neighborhood.

The responses when categorized into managerial, educational, and age levels, and length of service are quite similar. In other words, there is no apparent trend which suggests that the older, college educated, Black middle level managers who make higher salaries and who have been with their firms for long periods of time are further removed from the Black community than the younger, less educated, Black lower level managers who have been with their firms for only a short time. It should be pointed out that most of the Black managers who live in areas with few or no Black neighbors do so primarily because they live in neighborhoods located close to their jobs.

In Chapter II it was also pointed out that the younger, lower level Black managers are more likely to belong to all-Black organizations than the older, middle level Black managers. In addition, Black females belong to more racially homogeneous groups than Black males.

Fifty-five percent of the Black managers have very or fairly frequent contact with Blacks at social functions not related to work and only 13 percent have no contact with whites at social functions not related to work. Again, the younger, lower level Black managers, especially the females, have the least amount of social contact with whites outside of work.

With regard to overall contact with whites, a Black female who is a lower level manager, who does not have a college degree, and who is 30 years or younger will have less contact with whites than a Black male who is a middle level manager, who has a college degree and who is over 30.

When marriage was discussed in Chapter II, it was pointed out that up until the late 1960's there was very little opposition to interracial marriages in the Black community; however, in the past six to eight years many Blacks, especially the young and women, have voiced strong opposition to interracial marriages generally on the grounds that any Black who marries a white is psychologically oppressed and brainwashed by white America. In this study, 74 percent of the Black females, compared to only 27 percent of the Black males, could hardly imagine themselves marrying a white person--a striking difference. In addition, 50 percent more of the Black managers 30 or younger than those over 30 could hardly imagine themselves marrying a white person.[8]

Chapter II also noted that Black managers who have very frequent contact with whites, especially at social activities, are more likely to feel that they could imagine themselves marrying a white person than those who have fairly frequent, not very frequent, or no contact at all with whites. Approximately 55 percent of the managers in the latter three categories and 89 percent of the managers in the first category could imagine themselves marrying a white person.[9] Considering the fact that only one of the Black managers is married to a white person, it is obvious that the Black managers are not attempting to assimilate into white society through matrimony. What this does indicate is that they can imagine themselves marrying anyone to whom they are attracted--that color is unimportant.

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[8] One should remember that the managers' overall attitudes about interracial marriages are quite similar to those found in the Gallup Survey (see Chapter II).

[9] Several additional comments on the Black managers' views about marrying whites follow:

Black male managers from working class backgrounds are less likely to feel they could marry a white woman than Black males from middle class backgrounds; however, the Black females from all classes hold similar views.

Black managers, males and females, from the South are far more likely to say they could marry a white person than those from other parts of the country.

This same reasoning--that the Black managers are not opposed to associating with whites simply because they are white--is the most valid explanation for the fact that the majority of the Black managers have very or fairly frequent social contact with whites outside of work and many belong to integrated social and political groups.

In Chapter VII the Black managers' responses to two questions gave some indication of their degree of assimilation into white society. One was the managers' responses to the question: What advice would you give a Black manager entering your firm? Thirty-eight percent of them said that Blacks should stand up for what they believe is right, be their own man, and be themselves. Only two gave comments that could be considered "Tomish," i.e., Blacks should forget their color and not be color conscious.

When the Black managers were asked: (1) if they would consider the feelings of whites who would feel uncomfortable about having Blacks in management positions, and (2) would they have answered the questions differently ten years ago, 26 percent said they would have answered the questions differently ten years ago because they were not conscious of themselves as Black people, they were apathetic, and they would tend to overlook negative white attitudes toward Blacks. Five percent said they would have been more influenced by negative white attitudes ten years ago.

All these data suggest that Black managers, while living rather integrated lives and holding liberal integrationist views, are not attempting to lose their Black identity. The following pages will lend further substance to this position. In addition, data will be presented which suggest that overall these Black managers' views are not very different from the general views of the Black population in America--even though they seem to integrate into white society somewhat more than the general Black population.

With What Segments of the Black Community Do the Black Managers Have Good Communications?

Not only was the writer interested in the racial composition of the managers' neighborhoods, their organizational affiliations, and their social contact with whites outside of work, but also the segments of the Black community with which the Black managers have good and bad communications. The managers were asked these two questions: With what segments of the Black community do you have good communications?, and With what segments of the Black community do you have bad communications? The managers were allowed to categorize the different segments of the Black community in any manner they wished. Most of the managers categorized the segments either in terms of class or political philosophy.

Tables 1 and 2 show the managers' responses to the communications questions.

TABLE 1

THE SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WITH WHOM THE BLACK MANAGERS HAVE GOOD COMMUNICATIONS

Segments	Black Managers (N=116)
All Segments	36 %
Moderates	33
Middle Class	16
Lower Class	7
All Except Militants and Revolutionaries	4
Conservatives	3
Upper Class	3
All Except Upper Class	2
Militants	1
Revolutionaries and Extremists	1
No Segments	1
Other	4
Total*	111

*The total percentages in Tables 1 and 2 are over 100 because some managers indicated that they had good or bad communications with more than one segment.

TABLE 2

THE SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WITH WHOM THE BLACK MANAGERS HAVE BAD COMMUNICATIONS

Segments	Black Managers (N=116)
No Segments	38 %
Militants	32
Revolutionaries and Extremists	17
Upper Class	11
Lower Class	4
Conservatives	3
Middle Class	2
All Except Militants and Revolutionaries	1
Other	5
Total	113

When sex is used as the control variable, it is found that only 17 percent of the Black females, compared to 41 percent of the Black males, indicated that they have good communications with all segments of the Black community. The Black females tend to believe they have better communications with the moderates and middle class than the Black males--70 percent of the Black females, compared to 44 percent of the Black males. This is somewhat surprising because, in general, Blacks who identify with the Black moderate middle class are more assimilative in attitudes and behavior than those who identify with all segments of the Black community. However, as will be seen, most Black females while believing they have good communications with the Black moderate middle class, are not very assimilative in attitudes and behavior. Thus, one cannot categorically say that Blacks who are from and identify with the Black moderate middle class identify less with the Black community than those who might feel they identify with the masses of Black people.

In general, the younger, more educated Black male managers from all social backgrounds who live in predominantly Black areas are more likely to believe they have good communications with all segments of the Black community than the older, less educated, Black male managers who live in areas which are not predominantly Black. There are no such distinguishing characteristics of the Black females.

The Black managers who consider themselves radicals are more likely to get along with all segments of the Black community than the liberals, the liberals more than the moderates and the moderates more than the conservatives. The Black managers who have no religious preferences are most likely to get along with all segments of the Black community than those who have religious preferences. Baptists are more likely to have good communcations with all segments than the Blacks who belong to high status Protestant religions such as the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Lutherans, who generally come from the middle class and are more conservative than Baptists.

There are few differences between the Black males and females with regard to the groups with whom they have bad communcations; however, young, educated Black managers are more likely not to have bad communcations with any segment of the Black community than older, less educated Black managers.

Having located the patterns of communication, good and bad, how can they be explained? Table 3 lists the reasons the Black managers believe they have good communcations with certain segments of the Black community.

The responses in Table 3 indicate that many of the Black managers, as other groups of people regardless of color, have good communications with those people with whom they think alike, have more in common, and agree with on certain goals and means of achieving them. From this table it also becomes clear that a majority of the Black managers are moderate in their views. Many readers might wonder how can such moderate managers have such negative views about the opportunities that exist for Black managers in the corporate world; however, the data just substantiate the point that Blacks, whether moderates or militants, do have the common belief that Blacks are not treated equally and fairly in the corporate world because of racism.

Table 4 lists the reasons the managers believe they have poor communications with various segments of the Black community.

Some of the individual managers' responses are revealing:

A Black lower level bank manager from Triple C Bank:

TABLE 3

WHY BLACK MANAGERS HAVE GOOD COMMUNCATIONS WITH CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=116)
All Segments: Respondent knows and associates with people from all segments; tries to learn from all.	28 %
Moderates: Most of the respondent's friends are from this background; can communicate and talk with them; they think on the same lines.	25
All Segments: Blacks are all looking for the same thing--equality.	9
Middle and Lower: Respondent comes from this background; therefore, understands their needs and desires.	7
Middle Class: Most of respondent's friends are from this class; they have more in common.	6
Moderates: They have the best methods to achieve goals, freedom, and equality; they don't believe in violence or bloodshed.	6
All Segments Except Militants, Extremists, and Revolutionaries: Respondent does not like violence.	4
Moderates: They just want what they deserve and work for.	2
Middle and Conservative: They have nice paying jobs, they play golf, join clubs, etc.	2
All Segments Except the Upper Class: Respondent is sympathetic to their goals and desires.	2
Other	9
Total	100

TABLE 4

WHY BLACK MANAGERS HAVE POOR COMMUNICATIONS WITH CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=83)
Militants, Revolutionaries, and Extremists: Respondent does not believe in violent methods.	26 %
Militants: Respondent does not agree with their philosophy.	21
Upper Class: Respondent believes that they have not done anything for Blacks; they are snobs, callous, half-asses.	15
Militants: Respondent does not like their attitudes and treatment of other Blacks who do not agree with them.	14
Militants: Respondent has not been exposed to them.	14
Militants, Revolutionaries, and Extremists: Respondent does not believe in Black separatism.	8
Conservatives: Respondent does not agree with their attitude that everything is peaches and cream as long as you work hard.	5
Middle Class: Respondent doesn't have much in common with the Black middle class; Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie.	3
Other	15
Total*	121

*The total percentage is over 100 because some managers have bad communications with more than one segment and gave more than one reason for this.

"I've got good communications with the moderates. I have friends in this group. I can talk and communicate with them. They accept my ideas even though they might not agree with me. I've got bad communications with the militants because I don't know that many and I'm not exposed to them that often."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility: "I have good communications with all segments except the upper class. I can't stand upper class Blacks because they are so damn half-ass and snobbish. They just can't relate to Black people."

Another Black female manager from the same company explained her feelings this way: "I communicate better with middle class Blacks than with lower class Blacks. This is due to my own lack of drive to get to know different types of Blacks. I'm an armchair revolutionary. The Blacks who are exposed to poverty, etc., I don't know very well--I'm lazy. I don't know what's happening with the lower class Blacks."

A Black manager from Cousins Manufacturing who could easily pass for a white because of his light skin, straight hair, and blue eyes: "I get along with the moderate, middle class Blacks because I try to avoid types of situations where I would draw attention to myself and my family. I don't get along with the militants because they have abused me about my light skin and blue eyes."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "I get along with activists whether they are militant or moderate/middle class or lower class. I have friends in all groups, but

I don't get along with the conservative Black entrepreneur types and the fraternity and social club types because I don't accept a lot of their values--such as attempting to assimilate completely into white society and not really trying to help their own kind."

In short, Black managers, generally moderate in their views, typically cannot relate to the violent tactics and revolutionary philosophy of the militants/revolutionaries. However, there is a substantial minority--primarily young, educated, Black male managers who believe they are able to communicate with all segments of the Black community.

Do the Black Managers Believe that Blacks Are Pressing Their Case Too Hard?

Some readers might get the impression that because many of the Black managers are moderates and dislike violence they believe that Blacks are pressing their case too hard. This is not the case--96 percent do not believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard. Table 5 lists the reasons the Black managers do not believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard.

The general tenor of the Black managers' remarks about why they believe Blacks are not pressing too hard is that Blacks have been and are still being oppressed; therefore, they have a right to press for their equal rights in society. Many of them believe that they will not obtain their lawful rights unless they apply pressure on white society.

Some individual responses lend understanding to why the managers don't believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard.

TABLE 5

WHY BLACK MANAGERS DO NOT BELIEVE BLACKS ARE PRESSING THEIR CASE TOO HARD

Reasons	Black Managers (N=111)
White society will not change except under continuous pressure; if there is no pressure, there will be no change.	29 %
When people are pressing for civil and human rights, i.e., equality, they can't press too hard.	22
There has been relatively little positive change; thus, respondent does not believe that Blacks are pressing hard enough.	19
Blacks are late in asserting their rightful position in this society which has been denied them too long.	14
Blacks who are qualified aren't making it; therefore, Blacks aren't pressing too hard.	9
The militant Blacks are pressing their case too hard, but in general most other Blacks are not.	5
Blacks have a right to use pressure in order to achieve their fair share and equality in this country.	4
Respondent personally opposes violent tactics, but believes that they are helpful.	1
Blacks are pressing too hard when they use violent tactics.	1
Total*	104

*The total percentage is over 100 because of rounding errors.

A Black middle level manager from Triple A Bank: "I don't think Blacks are pressing hard enough. Most Blacks are still under the psychological hangups caused by racism. The younger Blacks are aware of this."

A Black bank manager from Triple C Bank: "If we don't press it will still remain a token society and job discrimination will persist. Whites are satisfied as long as Blacks don't push them and they are able to change things at their own pace."

A middle level Black manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "I don't think Blacks are pushing hard enough. We must press for our rights. If a man shows you a house and you want to buy it and he won't sell it to you, then burn it down."

A Black bank manager from Triple C Bank: "I see an element of complacency in some Blacks. They get somewhere and forget where they came from. The doors have been opened to super-niggers, but not to the average Blacks."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility: "There have been so many qualified Blacks who haven't gotten the chance to make it. The only reason there are some Blacks making it is because of the pressures."

Finally, a Black female manager from the same company: "If given a chance, most of us can make it. Blacks should get organized and do their thing. I don't like extreme militancy. Have a revolution, but get it together first. The company will not accept change except by pressure."

Are the Black Managers Called Uncle Toms and/or Sellouts Because of Their Positions in These Firms?

There are some Blacks who believe that a Black who enters the business world is an Uncle Tom and/or a Sellout--a traitor--to the Black movement. If Black managers are continuously called Uncle Toms and are under the pressure to conform to their firms' standards, this could bring about serious conflicts in the Black managers' identities. In order to see if the managers had been labeled in these ways, they were asked the following question: Have you ever been categorized in the Black community as an Uncle Tom or Sellout, a traitor to Black people and the Black movement in general because of your position in this firm? Only 9 percent of the females and 28 percent of the males answered this question affirmatively.

In general, the younger, less educated, lower level Black male managers from companies, who come from middle class backgrounds, have just moderate aspirations, and have good communications with mainly the moderate middle class segment of the Black community are called Uncle Toms more than any other group of Black managers.

Furthermore, 30 percent of the Black managers who have the most integrationist attitudes and only 13 percent who have the least integrationist attitudes are called Uncle Toms. Oddly, the degree of segregation of the areas the managers live in does not have any bearing on whether or not they are called Uncle Toms; however, where the managers work and the type of work they do does.

For example, 50 percent of the managers who have been called Uncle Toms come from the two banks. The writer noted earlier that most of the Black bankers are placed in branches located in Black communities. As a result, many of these Black managers are called such names as Uncle Tom and Sellout because they will not approve a loan and/or check. The following responses are examples of this type of situation:

A Black lower level manager from Triple A Bank: "I have been called those names when I did not approve a loan for a Black customer."

A Black lower level banker from Triple C Bank: "I get called names all the time. Many Blacks don't understand why I am working in the system--I do because I want to get aid for my brothers and I'm a representation that there are job opportunities in the bank for Blacks. I'm accused of looking, dressing, and talking like whites and not understanding the Black problem . . . ."

Another Black manager from the same company indicated that he was not only called an Uncle Tom by other Blacks, but also by some whites. He said, "I am always questioned about being an Uncle Tom. Sometimes a white will ask me too. Many white women have asked me the question."

Finally, a Black lower level banker from Triple A Bank: "I was called an Uncle Tom when I fired a Black because he was a poor worker."

Typical responses of Black managers who have been called Uncle Toms or Sellouts, but who are not bankers follow:

A Black lower level manager in Aunts Manufacturing: "I used to live on 99th Avenue in East Oakland but after I was ripped-off, I moved to the Lake District--a predominantly white middle class area. Even though I frequently go back to East Oakland because of friends and relatives, some of them call me a Black bourgeoisie. But they are still friendly."

An older middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "I am called names on any occasion when I do not agree with the militant segment of the community."

And lastly, a middle level Black manager from Deuce Public Utility: "I'm called names when people don't know me or what I do when I speak in the Black communities or at various meetings."

In short, the young, Black managers who work in service-oriented jobs like banking and who have integrationist views are quite likely to be called such names as Uncle Tom and Sellout. The effect of the name calling on their performances in the corporate world was not explored in this study, but being labeled a traitor to one's race cannot have improved their morales.

Do White Corporations Psychologically and Physically Remove Blacks from the Black Community?

The managers were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Many Black people, especially separatists or Black nationalists, believe that Black people working in corporations are undermining the Black movement toward developing viable Black economic institutions; they say that corporations physically and psychologically remove Black people from their communities; thus, Black people are deprived of the knowledge, technical skill, and expertise of Black managers.

Only 11 percent of the Black managers agree with the statement, and another 3 percent agree with only the first part of the statement.

The responses of some of the managers who agree are quite revealing:

One Black lower level female manager in Ace Public Utility agrees with Wilensky's hypothesis about the assimilation effect of the corporate world: "I have been thinking about this a great deal. Right now I am of the opinion that anyone who associates with a group of people, such as Blacks do in the work situation, begin to take on their values, mannerisms, etc. A Black must be very strong to work against this assimilation process."

A Black middle level manager from the same company: "It takes the energy and talent the Black managers have away from the Black problem areas and this is not healthy for the Black movement in general."

A Black female from the same company: "I am somewhat guilty of this myself. If you work with whites and you get along with them you tend to forget that they would oppose working with more than one Black."

Finally, a Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank: "The Black executive is compromised into the white corporate image of an officer. The true Black executive has yet to be molded."

Table 6 lists the managers' reasons for disagreeing with the statement.

TABLE 6

WHY BLACK MANAGERS DO NOT BELIEVE CORPORATIONS REMOVE BLACKS FROM THE COMMUNITY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=101)
Before Blacks can help the Black community they need to work in white corporations to get the skills, training, and money needed.	35 %
It is not the case with the Black people these respondents know; they have goals and objectives to help the Black people and they do live in Black areas.	20
Respondents do not believe in separatism.	17
The only way Blacks can really make it in this society is through the corporate world.	10
Only those Blacks who are Toms or show-casing will leave the community.	5
Blacks have to work and the jobs that are available are mostly in white firms.	4
The problem is that many times people are with or against and nothing in the middle.	3
Other (Includes mere repetition of disagreement with the statement)	13
Total*	107

*The percentage is over 100 because several managers gave more than one reason.

Some of the typical responses of the managers follow:

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility: "I don't agree with the Nationalists' philosophy. I am still interested and a part of the community and I do my share. The militants talk, but I prefer to go out and show whitey that I am together--my actions speak louder than the militants' words."

A lower level Black manager from Deuce Public Utility put it this way: "I disagree because I work in a large corporation and one day I'll be in a position to help some other Blacks. I'm not undermining the movement because I will be able to help them economically. I refuse to work outside of the Black community, so I'm not removed from it."

A Black female manager from the same company concluded: "It is not the corporations who are removing people, it is the Nationalists who are trying to move people away from the community. People must live together. There should be equal opportunities to live where we want to--either in all-Black neighborhoods or whatever. People should have the right to do what they want to."

Another Black female manager from the same company put it this way: "When a Black is hired he is going to do the job he is there for and not forgetting that there are other qualified Blacks, he is going to make that point apparent to the people he works for and with. The Black won't forget his people--he only wants a job and compensation for it. He's not going to change his race."

These responses show that the vast majority of Black managers do not believe corporations physically and psychologically remove Blacks from the Black community. Their reasons for disagreeing are quite rational and valid. Blacks have developed a sense of pride and positive identity. They do not want to leave their community and their pride and positive identity will not allow them to be psychologically removed from the community. A possible explanation for Blacks not becoming physically and psychologically removed from the community is that they work in areas which have large numbers of Black workers or in areas in which they are directly involved in the employment of Blacks, such as in affirmative action or in areas in which they deal directly with the Black community; therefore, it is more difficult for the managers to forget their ties and origins to the Black community.

Would the Black Managers Move to a Small White City or Town?

Even though the vast majority of the Black managers do not believe corporations psychologically and physically remove Black managers from the Black community, more than a majority of them would accept a transfer to a small white city or town.. More specifically, the managers were asked: Would you accept a transfer to a plant located in a small white city or town? Fifty-six percent of them said that they would accept such a transfer. The young, lower level Black managers are least likely to accept such a transfer; there are no differences by sex or education. Table 7 shows the managers' responses by their age group.

TABLE 7

WOULD BLACK MANAGERS ACCEPT A TRANSFER TO A SMALL WHITE CITY OR TOWN?

Response	Black Managers' Ages 30 and Under (N=45)	31-40 (N=53)	Over 40 (N=18)
Yes	48 %	59 %	67 %
No	52	41	33
Total	100	100	100

Such factors as the managers' social class, the percent of Blacks living in their neighborhoods, with whom they have good and bad communications, and their aspirations have no effect on their acceptance of such a transfer. However, the Black managers who grew up in the South are more likely to accept a transfer than those who grew up in other parts of the U. S. The Black managers from the South who would accept a transfer probably believe that since they grew up in a racist, segregated part of the country, they could live and work in any white setting.

Table 8 lists the reasons the managers would accept a transfer.

Three of the managers' comments essentially sum up the thinking of the Black managers who would accept a transfer to a small white city or town.

A Black lower level female manager from Ace Public Utility: "I would be able to make changes. I would bring more Blacks in.

TABLE 8

WHY THE BLACK MANAGERS WOULD ACCEPT A TRANSFER TO A SMALL WHITE CITY OR TOWN

Reasons	Black Managers (N=64)
Would go in order to show whites that Blacks are qualified and capable; to educate whites about Blacks and change their stereotypes.	42 %
Would go as long as it was a promotion and offered viable opportunities.	24
Would go because feels he/she could function in any type of environment; would be able to overcome many obstacles.	17
Respondent already operates in such an environment.	8
Would not matter.	8
Would go to any place except the South.	5
Would go because believes pressures are the same anywhere in a white society.	2
Total*	107

*The total percentage is over 100 because some managers gave more than one reason.

I would increase the standards. A small white community does not frighten me--I could out-think them."

A Black lower level female manager from Triple C Bank put it this way: "I would go if it was a promotion. If they gave me the opportunity, I could do the job well. It's surprising when white people find out that Blacks don't just want to socialize with whites, that they don't want to be in a white society and that they just want the right to be equal. I would welcome the opportunity so people could see that I am qualified and a person . . . ."

A Black male manager from the same company concluded: "My pride is the fact why I believe I can succeed wherever I am, regardless of the population ratio. I never want to place a limitation on myself. I would meet all pressures eagerly and enthusiastically."

The managers' responses as to why they would accept such a transfer do not suggest that they want to leave the Black community; they do suggest, however, that they have pride and confidence in their ability to succeed in any type of environment.

Table 9 lists the reasons why the Black managers would not accept such a transfer.

Some of the responses of the managers who would not accept a transfer to a small white city or town are as follows:

A Black lower level manager from Cousins Manufacturing based the reasons for his negative answer on the treatment his father and brothers received in a small white town: "I come from a small white city and I saw the abuse that my father and brothers took at a small plant--refusal of positions. The company said it was due to their lack of qualifications."

A Black bank manager from Triple A Bank: "I would not go because of my family. I feel that Blacks should not be isolated in an all-white community."

A Black manager from Ace Public Utility said simply: "I would not go because I want to be around my own people."

TABLE 9

WHY THE BLACK MANAGERS WOULD NOT ACCEPT A TRANSFER TO A SMALL WHITE CITY OR TOWN

Reasons	Black Managers (N=52)
Would be too much pressure; would not be able to do a good job.	38 %
Would be too much pressure for his/her family to put up with.	38
Would not be able to grow within the company; opportunities would be limited.	30
Would not go because wants to live near a Black community; wants to stay here to help the Black community.	26
Does not like small white cities or towns.	21
There are enough pressures here.	4
Other	2
Total*	159

*The total percentage is over 100 because many of the managers gave more than one reason.

These managers, who are generally younger, believe that racial discrimination would be so strong that they and their families would be adversely affected. These responses also indicate that many of the Black managers do not see themselves being accepted by white society; therefore, this would work against any desire they might have to assimilate.

What Do the Black Managers Think is the Best Path for Blacks to Pursue in This Country?

Most of the Black managers are liberal in their views about interacting socially with whites and they are, on the whole, moderate in their political views. This is not to say that most Black managers are for complete assimilation into white society. Even though in general the Black managers hold integrationist attitudes, interact frequently with whites, and believe that housing, jobs, schools, and public facilities should be desegregated, the vast majority do not believe in complete assimilation into white society and they are not trying to lose their Black identity or cultural ties. They are essentially espousing a middle ground which at once affirms cultural pluralism and opposes all forms of discrimination and forced segregation; but are in favor of Blacks forming strong social, political, and economic organizations and believe that every other minority has the right to fight for their equality. Further evidence of this orientation appears in the managers' responses to the following question: As a group, what is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country? Only 12 percent of the Black managers--13 males and 1 female--believe that Blacks should assimilate and integrate completely into white society and only 5 percent--5 males and 1 female--want to separate from white society. Seventy-four percent of the males and 83 percent of the females believe that Blacks should form strong social, political, and economic organizations; however, 10 percent of these managers believe that complete integration into white society would be the final goal for Blacks to achieve but that Black culture and white culture should merge, taking the best of both. Table 10 shows the managers' responses to the question.

TABLE 10

WHAT THE BLACK MANAGERS BELIEVE IS THE BEST PATH FOR BLACKS TO PURSUE IN THIS COUNTRY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=116)
Form strong social, political, and economic organizations to pressure white society into assuring Blacks equal opportunity and freedom in the larger society.	76 %
Assimilate and integrate completely into white society.	12
Form their own separate Black nations.	3
Withdraw into the urban areas and form separate all-Black communities.	2
Other	7
Total	100

Fourteen of the Black managers said that Blacks should assimilate into white society and eleven said that this should be the ultimate goal of Blacks. Of these twenty-five Black managers, only one is female. She is under 30 and from the working class. While there are not many differences between the Black managers 30 and younger and those between the ages of 31 and 40, there are between these two groups and the Black managers who are over 40. Twenty-one percent of those in the first two age groups, compared to 56 percent in the over 40 age group, selected assimilation into white society.

When education is used as the control variable, it becomes apparent that those Black managers with advanced degrees are much more likely to believe complete assimilation into white society is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country than those with bachelors degrees or no college degrees--45 percent of the Black managers in the former and approximately 20 percent of the Black managers in the latter two groups.

More than double the percentage of Black managers from the middle class than those from the lower class believe in complete assimilation.

Although where the managers lived until they were 18 has no relationship to their views regarding assimilation, only 6 percent of the Black male managers who live in areas where Blacks make up more than 50 percent of the population, compared to 31 percent who live in areas where Blacks make up less than 50 percent of the population, believe complete assimilation is the best path.

Lastly, Black males who have good communications with only the middle class and moderates are more likely to believe in complete assimilation than those who have good communications with all segments of the Black community.

Here are several typical reasons why the Black managers selected integration:

A Black lower level bank manager from Triple A Bank: "The trend of everything is that way; it is inevitable. There will always be some intermingling and I think it would be for the better to have it all broken down. I think forming strong organizations has been somewhat a failure--you can pressure white society until you are blue in the face. The Black community doesn't have a lot of money so there can be no real pressure."

A Black middle level manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "I don't believe you can go very far if you don't interact. We are in a multiracial society and we must live that part . . . ."

A number of other typical comments for other choices are:

A Black manager from Cousins Manufacturing who believes that forming strong social, political, and economic organizations and then integrating into white society is the best path for Blacks put it this way: "We must start by forming strong organizations and then go on to integrating into white society. If you deal with white society from a power position, you will finally become integrated."

A Black manager who selected only forming strong Black organizations as the best path: "By doing this we are not isolating ourselves and letting whites corral us. We are being forceful."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility gave these reasons for her belief that Blacks should withdraw into the urban areas and form separate all-Black communities: "Blacks have the responsibility of taking care of their own kind. We must pressure Blacks and not whites--we have to use our own resources and get our own thing together."

Table 11 shows the reasons the managers selected the formation of strong Black social, political, and economic organizations as the best path.

In concluding, multivariate analysis shows that the older, well educated Black male managers from the middle class, living in well integrated neighborhoods, and communicating with moderate, middle class Blacks are much more inclined to believe in complete assimilation than younger, less educated Black males from working class families, living in predominantly Black neighborhoods, and communicating with all segments of the Black community.

The Advice the Black Managers Would Give Other Blacks with Regard to the Best Possible Strategy to Follow in this Society in Order to Live a Prosperous, Free Life

In order to see what advice the Black managers would give to individual Blacks as opposed to the best path for Blacks as a group to pursue in this country, the managers were asked: What advice would you give an individual Black person with regard to the best possible strategy to follow in this society in order to live a prosperous, free life? Table 12 lists the advice the managers would give to other Black people. Notice that only 10 percent of the Black managers believe that Blacks cannot lead a free, propserous life in this country at this time. Most of the advice

TABLE 11

WHY THE BLACK MANAGERS BELIEVE FORMING STRONG SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS IS THE BEST PATH FOR BLACKS TO PURSUE

Reasons	Black Managers (N=88)
Statements which suggest that this is the most effective way to bring about social change in the U. S.; whites understand social, economic, and political pressures.	51 %
Blacks must be in a position of strength; the only way they can be accepted as equals is through unity.	26
For the present this is the best path; Blacks must start from a power position, but believe that assimilation into white society would be the ultimate.	13
There are no advantages in a separate Black nation; the ghetto is already an all-Black community with little improvements; Blacks don't want to lose their identity which would happen if we assimilated completely into white society; thus, forming strong organizations is the best path.	11
Blacks do not have the money or resources to form their own separate Black nations or to withdraw into the urban areas and form separate all-Black communities.	6
Blacks just want a chance; they do not want separatism.	1
Not certain that this is the best path, but thinks so.	1
Total*	109

*The total percentage is over 100 because some of the managers gave more than one reason.

TABLE 12

ADVICE THE BLACK MANAGERS WOULD GIVE TO OTHER BLACKS

Advice	Black Managers (N=116)
Blacks should become well educated and develop their skills.	50 %
Blacks should be independent, believe in themselves, stand up for their rights, and have pride in themselves.	25
Blacks should set goals and standards, then vigorously pursue them.	16
Blacks should work hard at whatever they are doing or want to do; they should always do the job well.	15
Blacks cannot lead a free, prosperous life in this country at this time.	10
Blacks should find something they will be happy doing.	9
Blacks should have flexible attitudes in order to be able to function in different situations.	6
Blacks should be self-employed.	4
Blacks should learn as much as they can about their company, i.e., the goals, organization, policies, etc.	3
Blacks should be highly critical of themselves; they should learn their abilities and limits.	3
Blacks should join large, progressive firms.	1
Blacks should use their color; Black is beautiful now, but it might not be later.	1
Total*	143

*The total percentage is over 100 because many managers had several things they would advise Blacks to do.

is solid, worthwhile advice which most people would give to others. In an indirect way the responses to this question imply that most Black managers believe there are opportunities available for Blacks in the corporate world; however, as the responses to previous questions in Chapters VI and VIII indicated, the Black managers are optimistic mainly because they believe that their continuous struggle and pressure on white society for equality and their confidence in their ability as Black men and women will prove fruitful and not because they have faith in white society changing on its own.

Some of the managers' responses are quoted below:

A Black lower level female manager from Ace Public Utility: "Blacks should get an education. They should go out and try to enter into work in their desired field. They should not get discouraged. And they should prove themselves, thus giving their brothers a chance."

A Black middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "Be proud of yourself as a Black man and believe that you are equal to any man. Try to adopt whatever practices and tendencies are the most successful in the white world and eliminate those that are the most oppressive and still compete in that system."

A Black middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing gave this advice: "Blacks should get an education. If there is something you want to do qualify yourself and then go where this type of job is offered. Once you go there and are rejected then this is where the place to fight starts. The only reason you could be rejected is because you are Black and not because of lack of qualifications, etc. Then you have something to fight for. There will always be some companies and management that will be on your back--it takes a long time and a strong individual to overcome these things."

And finally a Black lower level manager from the same company who wanted to know if the writer was serious about this question said: "I would tell another Black person to get out. In order to lead a prosperous, free life a Black couldn't be happy--he would lose his individuality. He would have to be an all-American boy, go to school, get a degree, work for a defense contractor, and wave the flag."

The managers' responses, on the whole, indicate neither separatist nor assimilationist attitudes, but a strong commitment to a work ethic and individual development.

Introduction to the Black Managers' Overall Non-Assimilative Indices

In order to give the reader a more concise view of the non-assimilative attitudes and behaviors of the Black managers, two overall indices will be evaluated. The first will look at the managers' non-assimilative attitudes, and the second will look at the managers' non-assimilative behaviors. The responses of each question which make up the indices are weighted appropriately so that the managers received a specific score. For example, when the managers were asked their degree of agreement with the statement: I could hardly imagine myself marrying a white person, if they strongly disagreed they received a score of 0, if they disagreed a score of 1, if they agreed a score of 2, and if they strongly agreed a score of 3.

A. The Black Managers' Overall Non-Assimilative Attitude Index

Three questions went into the non-assimilative index. They are:

> I could hardly imagine myself marrying a white person.
>
> As a group, what is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country?
>
> Would you accept a transfer to a plant located in a small white city or town?

Table 13 shows the assimilative attitude of the Black managers by sex and age.

From this table three conclusions can be drawn: (1) overall the Black males of all age groups have more assimilative attitudes than the Black females of all age groups; (2) the older Black males hold stronger assimilative attitudes than the younger Black males; however, (3) the Black females of various ages are quite similar in their assimilative attitudes.

While the social backgrounds of the Black females do not give any indication as to how assimilative their attitudes might be, the Black males from the working class are less likely to hold extreme assimilative attitudes than those from the middle class.

TABLE 13

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL ASSIMILATIVE ATTITUDE INDEX

Assimilative Attitudes	Age			
	30 and Under		Over 30	
	Black Males (N=32)	Black Females (N=13)	Black Males (N=61)	Black Females (N=10)
Most Assimilative (3-5)	41 %	15 %	54 %	20 %
Moderately Assimilative (6-8)	50	70	41	70
Least Assimilative (9-11)	9	15	5	10
Total	100	100	100	100

Where the managers lived until they were 18 had no relationship to their assimilative attitudes; however, the Black managers who now live in predominantly Black areas (50 percent or more) have less assimilative attitudes than those who live in predominantly white areas.

The Black managers who have good communications with all segments of the Black community and bad communications with none and those who are less likely to be called Uncle Toms generally have less assimilative attitudes.

One might expect the most ambitious Black managers to have the most assimilative attitudes because they might overconform to the white power structure into which they hope to move. This is not the case. The data show it is just the opposite. In addition, the data do show that the Black males in middle management have more assimilative attitudes than Black males of the same age group in lower management.

In sum: The older, middle level Black managers who are from middle class backgrounds and who live in predominantly white areas have the most assimilative attitudes. While some readers might believe that the previous statement suggests that as Blacks get older and rise in the hierarchy their views will become more assimilative, this writer cautions the reader not to apply this generalization to many of the young Black managers who have been brought up in an era of Black awareness and pride and thus have a stronger identification with Blackness.[10]

B. The Black Managers' Overall Non-Assimilative Behavior Index

The questions which make up the non-assimilative behavior index are as follows:

> How frequently do you have contact with whites at social functions not related to work?
>
> Do Blacks live in your neighborhood?
>
> About what percentage of Blacks live in your neighborhood?
>
> To what types of non-social organizations do you belong (all-Black or integrated)?

---

[10] The Black managers who have the least assimilative attitudes are the most critical of their companies' employment policies.

Similar scoring procedures to the assimilative attitude index were used. Table 14 shows the assimilative behaviors of the managers by sex and age.

TABLE 14

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL ASSIMILATIVE BEHAVIOR INDEX

Assimilative Behaviors	Age			
	30 and Under		Over 30	
	Black Males (N=32)	Black Females (N=13)	Black Males (N=61)	Black Females (N=10)
Most Assimilative (3-8)	41 %	31 %	48 %	20 %
Moderately Assimilative (8-12)	43	54	41	40
Least Assimilative (12-18)	16	15	11	40
Total	100	100	100	100

When one compares the assimilative attitudes and behavior tables it is clear that the Black males under 30 and over 30 have more similarities in assimilative behaviors than attitudes, but it is just the opposite for Black females. The personal characteristics which describe managers with the most assimilative attitudes are the same for those who have the most assimilative behaviors. However, as Table 15 shows, the relationship between assimilative attitudes and behaviors is far from perfect. In other words, while many Black managers have non-assimilative attitudes, they do have assimilative behaviors and vice versa.

TABLE 15

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BLACK MANAGERS' ASSIMILATIVE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

Assimilative Attitudes	Assimilative Behaviors					
	Most		Moderately		Least	
	Black Males	Black Females	Black Males	Black Females	Black Males	Black Females
Most Assimilative	52 %	0 %	35 %	50 %	13 %	50 %
Moderately Assimilative	44	31	46	50	10	19
Least Assimilative	0	33	67	33	33	33

In carefully reviewing the characteristics of the Black managers who fall into the extreme groups, i.e., most and least assimilative in attitudes and behaviors, one finds that the most assimilative managers are generally over 30 years of age, from the middle class, with various educational backgrounds, and many are in middle management positions. The least assimilative Black managers are generally 30 and under, from the lower class, and well educated.

In different words, older Black managers who were brought up in a different era of Black pride and identity, who have made it to middle management and are generally working in staff jobs in which they have very frequent contact with whites, especially at corporate headquarters, have strong integrationist tendencies, because of their age and their positions in these white corporations. Young Blacks moving rapidly in white corporations, but in almost exclusively Black settings, have the least assimilative attitudes and behaviors. Again, this can be attributed to their age and their positions in these firms. It remains to be seen if they will continue to possess these same non-assimilative attitudes and behaviors as they move further up the corporate ladder and work in predominantly white work settings.

Summary and Conclusions

It has been shown that, in general, the Black managers in this study are moderate in their racial views. They seem to be slightly more assimilative in their attitudes and behaviors than the general Black population. For example, Campbell found that the vast majority of Black Americans favor desegregation, as do the managers in this study. However, the Black managers in this study tend to live in more integrated neighborhoods and they seem to have more overall contact with whites than the general Black population. This is due to their unique positions in white corporations. Campbell wrote with regard to the general Black population:

> . . . the very great degree to which friendships in the United States are confined within racial lines. The great majority of white people say all their friends are white; Black people are much more likely to report cross-racial friends but most of them report most or all of their friends as Black. This demonstration of racial separation is impressive but at least as impressive is the fact that the number of people of both races who count their friends exclusively within their own race has declined over the past six years.[11]

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[11] Campbell, pp. 134, 143, 146-147.

In sum: There seems to be a tendency for the older, middle level Black male managers from the middle class to have more assimilative attitudes and behavior than the other groups of Black managers by sex, age, managerial level and social background. This might indicate that as Black managers move up the occupational ladder they will become more integrationist in their attitudes and behaviors. The degree to which this will happen will depend on the types of jobs the Blacks hold, the opportunities they are afforded to move up the corporation ladder, the racial attitudes of white America in general, and the government's action on integration in housing, schooling, and employment. If Blacks begin to work in areas not related to the Black consumer market and Black employees, if they are really given equal opportunities, if white society begins to accept Blacks as neighbors, colleagues, and friends, and if the government pushes for integration and equality of opportunity, Black managers will be more inclined to follow an integrationist path than a separatist path.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Introduction

The first section of this chapter will discuss the major problem hindering Black managers from fully participating in the corporate world--racism. The second will analyze what the participating managers believe should be done to improve the present situation of Black managers in the corporate world. In the final section the writer's views regarding what must be done and what should be done in order for corporations to provide equal employment opportunities will be presented.

The Major Problem--Racism

This study has demonstrated that racism is the major problem confronting Blacks in their employment in corporations. While most white managers believe racial discrimination exists in the corporate world, many are reluctant to admit and/or are blind to the fact that a great deal of racial discrimination exists in their own companies.

Corporate racism is no longer the overt, unsophisticated form of racism (where Blacks are simply not hired or promoted because they are Black), but a more covert, sophisticated form of racism which has its collective attitudinal and institutional components.

Recently a number of writers such as Harold M. Baron, Robert Blauner, Harvey Molotch, and Linda Wolf have put forth the proposition that too much emphasis has been placed on the individual racial attitudes of whites as a barrier to Blacks receiving equal opportunities and that not enough emphasis has been placed on the role of institutional racism in denying Blacks equal opportunities, i.e., racism which excludes Blacks by conventional procedures, rules, and regulations.

For example, Baron wrote:

> Maintenance of the basic racial controls is now less dependent upon specific discriminatory decisions. Such behavior has become so well institutionalized that the individual generally does not have to exercise a choice to operate in a racist manner. The rules and procedures of the large organizations have already prestructured the choice. The individual only has to conform to the operating norms of the organization and the institution will do the discriminating for him.[1]

Blauner concurred with Baron's viewpoint:

> The men of goodwill and tolerance who identify racism with prejudice can therefor exempt themselves from responsibility and involvement in our system of racial injustice and inequality by taking comfort in their own "favorable" attitudes toward minority groups.
>
> The error in this point of view is revealed by the fact that such men of goodwill help maintain the racism of American society and in some cases even profit from it. This takes place because racism is institutionalized. The processes that maintain domination--control

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[1] Harold M. Baron, "The Web of Urban Racism," in Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitts, eds., Institutional Racism in America (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969), pp. 142-143.

> of whites over non-whites--are built into the major social institutions. These institutions either exclude or restrict the participation of racial groups by procedures that have become conventional, part of the bureaucratic system of rules and regulations. Thus there is little need for prejudice as a motivating force. Because this is true, the distinction between racism as an objective phenomenon, located in the actual existence of domination and hierarchy, and racism's subjective concomitants of prejudice and other motivations and feelings is a basic one.[2]

When elaborating on his concept of institutional racism, Blauner said that the most elementary definition of institutional racism was "the exclusion of people of color from equal participation in society's institutions." Essentially, Blauner means that this can happen, and presently does happen, more through conventional procedures, rules, and regulations than by individual actions. In other words, at the present time, institutional racism is more non-intentional and indirect than otherwise. Another definition of institutional racism, according to Blauner:

> The fact that institutional racism is the result of such chains of "unwitting" actions and circumstances has made its existence relatively easy to overlook or deny; this is why it is such an important idea today.
>
> The trial[3] provided a concrete example of one further meaning of the concept of institutional racism; that the contingencies of social position or institutional role are more significant than individual attitude or personality in determining those actions and decisions that make a difference with respect to racial realities.[4]

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[2] Robert Blauner, Racial Oppression in America (New York, 1972), pp. 9-10.

[3] Huey P. Newton's trial.

[4] Blauner, p. 186.

Molotch and Wolf, in their study of institutional racism primarily at the University of Santa Barbara, concentrated on the day-to-day routines of the university which intentionally or unintentionally excluded Blacks and other minorities. They placed a great deal of emphasis on the inability of minorities to meet certain white, middle class requirements which are considered necessary for entrance into the academic community at various levels. They also placed a great deal of emphasis on the conventional recruitment procedures which have unintentionally excluded larger numbers of minorities. Their study leaves one with the uneasy feeling that all minorities need special consideration and that all that has to be changed to insure Blacks equal opportunities are the conventional procedures, rules, and regulations. They placed very little importance on the role white racist attitudes play in the exclusion of Blacks.[5]

Blauner wrote the following with regard to the position that individual white racial attitudes are most important in denying Blacks equal opportunities:

> Social science experts assumed that this movement toward equality depended primarily on the reduction of prejudice in the white majority, rather than upon the collective actions of the oppressed groups themselves or upon basic transformations in the society. Here sociologists were reflecting the general ethos of American culture, which minimizes a consciousness of, and concern with, group power--with the structure of institutions and their constraints--

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[5] Harvey Molotch and Linda Wolf, "Racism in Dominant Organizations: Scheme for Instituting Change" (unpublished paper, Santa Barbara, 1972).

> emphasizing in their stead the ideas and attitudes of individuals.[6]

After indicating that opinion polls and attitude surveys showed that white racist attitudes have decreased, Blauner noted that:

> The continuing deepening of racial crisis and conflict made it more and more apparent that white attitudes were peripheral rather than primary determinants of racial arrangements. There were still sociologists celebrating the impressive decline in racial attitudes at the very moment that Watts burst into flames.[7]

From the previous discussion it is clear that Baron, Blauner, Molotch, and Wolf place a great deal more emphasis on institutional racism in terms of conventional procedures, rules, and regulations than on individual white racist attitudes as playing the dominant role in keeping Blacks from obtaining equal opportunities. Hardy Frye, Assistant Professor at Sacramento State College, in a heated discussion with the writer, aptly summed up Baron's, Blauner's, Molotch's, and Wolf's position: "The white peoples' attitudes are not important, the primary factors of importance are the institutional structures which exclude Blacks. You can't change the attitudes of whites, but you can change the structures."

This writer agrees that conventional procedures, rules, and regulations are serious and important barriers to Blacks obtaining equal opportunities in the corporate world. It is true that there are some Blacks just like there are some whites who are not able to meet certain requirements for many positions within the various institutions and it is also true that certain conventional procedures are barriers to Blacks participating fully in society's institutions; however, what is just as true and just as important is the fact that many Blacks who are not deficient in meeting these requirements and who are not hindered by conventional procedures are excluded from participating fully in society's institutions. This suggests that other forms of racism are playing a crucial role in the exclusion of Blacks.

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[6] Blauner, p. 8.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

At the present time there are sufficient governmental laws to insure Blacks equal opportunities, if they are enforced. These laws have made illegal all rules and regulations excluding Blacks solely on the basis of color. As noted in Chapter III, the government has issued regulations which require tests to be validated before being used. Other regulations require that the denials for hiring and promoting people be based on "objective" criteria which are directly related to the position for which the individual is being considered. Still other regulations require institutions to take affirmative action to increase the number of Blacks in their employment.

Several points should be made with regard to the last two types of governmental regulations: (1) even though the government has required corporations to set objective qualification criteria for each position, these regulations are quite general and are most effective for entry level positions; therefore, there is a great deal of leeway in interpreting the qualification criteria for other than entry level positions; and (2) the government requires affirmative action for corporations to be made in "good faith." The term "good faith" is a very general term which leads to many interpretations.

In sum: Although the government has taken steps to combat institutional racism, as defined by Blauner and others, there is still a tremendous amount of vagueness in the rules, regulations, and procedures of institutions which leaves room for a great deal of personal interpretation.

Since this is a racist society operated almost exclusively by and for white people, it is more likely than not that individual whites will interpret the vagueness in rules, regulations, and procedures, consciously or unconsciously, to the detriment of Blacks. Thus, individual white racist attitudes are still very important factors in denying Blacks equal opportunities.

This type of discrimination Blauner calls "neoracism":

> Despite the Kerner Report, it is still difficult for most whites to accept the unpleasant fact that America remains a racist society. Such an awareness is further obscured by the fact that more sophisticated, subtle, and indirect forms, which might better be termed neoracism, tend to replace the traditional, open forms that were most highly elaborated in the old South.[8]

In short, this writer suggests that there are two important forms of racism which are working to exclude Blacks from society's institutions. These forms are institutional racism and neoracism. While these forms of racism are working in the corporate world at all levels, this writer suggests that their degree of importance in the exclusion of Blacks varies among each of the hierarchical levels.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Troy Duster, writing about university directors, noted that because of their advanced ages, high status, and predominantly Protestant business backgrounds, they are a very conservative group:

> . . . social science theory, with empirical support, holds that the social-economic position of the individual is highly related to his social thought and social actions. For example, we know empirically that there is marked tendency for those with the highest status in a society to support the most traditional and conservative institutions. The higher one's social status, the more likely he is to believe that the world is a just world where men get what they deserve and deserve what they get.[9]

This statement can also apply to directors of corporations. Thus in all probability, many are convinced that Blacks have not made it in the corporate world because they do not deserve to. This attitude is a form of neoracism.

Institutional racism, as put forth by Blauner and others at the Board of Directors level is embedded in the self-perpetuating characteristics of this level. This characteristic is an enormous barrier because of a neoracist ideology which states that because Blacks have a different culture which produces different dress styles, manners of speech, overall personal mannerisms, and social mores, Blacks would not be able to effectively interact in the higher business circles where many major business decisions are made at social functions outside of work and not at the business establishment. As noted in Chapter V, some writers have suggested that in order for organizations to function smoothly, especially at the upper levels of management, a culturally homogeneous group is necessary.

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[9] Troy Duster, "Aims and Control of the Universities: A Comparative Study of Sweden and the U. S." (unpublished paper, Berkeley, Calif., 1971), p. 24.

While the neoracist attitudes of many white directors who believe that Blacks lack the personal characteristics necessary to "fit in" the business community and the self-perpetuating characteristics of the Boards are of primary importance in explaining the absence of Blacks at the Board level, the fact that there are no general qualifications for directors also leaves a great deal of room for the neoracist ideology regarding the "lack of super-qualified" or "acceptable" Blacks to play a significant role.

The Presidents of corporations are generally selected by the Directors and are directly responsible to the Directors for the overall operation of the corporations. The remaining top officials who are assistants to the President and responsible for major operations of the organizations are generally selected by the President and approved by the Directors.

It is reasonable to assume that the upper level managers, because they are similar to the members of the Board in terms of sex, age, and social status and are approved by the Board, will possess similar neoracist attitudes.

The fact that all but a few Blacks have been excluded from management positions in the corporate world until recently has changed the conventional, slow procedure of promoting from within the organization into a form of institutional racism which excludes Blacks from upper management. In addition, when attempting to fill a position with someone outside of the organization, the upper level managers seek candidates through friends and contacts. Because the vast majority of upper level managers are white and because their friends and contacts are generally white, and they probably have little contact with Blacks, their recommendations will generally be individuals who are white. Thus, Blacks are excluded from top management by another conventional procedure.

However, even if the above forms of institutional racism did not exclude Blacks, two of the forms of neoracism which exclude Blacks from the Board level also exclude Blacks from upper management.

As was the case with the Directors, the most important form of racism which exists at this level is the neoracist ideology which excludes Blacks because they are not seen to be socially compatible at this level of management, thus not acceptable colleagues.

Many white and Black managers in this study believe that Blacks cannot make it to upper managerial positions in part because whites are not ready to accept Blacks as social equals and thus Blacks would be prevented from participating in many of the business decisions which take place in the social arena.

Also at this level the neoracist ideology which excludes Blacks because they do not have the "proper qualifications" begins to play a more important role than it did at the Board level. This is because at the Board level no specific "qualifications" have ever been set down to elect members to the Board; however, many upper management positions require certain skills and experiences. Thus, there becomes a greater need to develop a rationale for the virtually total exclusion of Blacks in upper managerial positions based on their lack of qualifications.

Considering the lily white nature of the upper levels of management, the various forms of racism which exist at that level, and the great amount of power and influence the individuals at this level have, one would suspect that their racial attitudes and ideologies permeate the institutional structures. To an extent this is true; however, as one moves down the hierarchy to middle and lower management positions the neoracist ideology--based on the belief that Blacks are unable to interact properly with whites because of their different cultural backgrounds and/or that Blacks are not socially acceptable because the smooth functioning of executives depends on social homogeneity--becomes less important. This is because the role of outside social interaction becomes less and less important the lower one is on the occupational ladder.

The form of neoracism which becomes most important at the lower levels of management is that related to determining who is "qualified" or who is the "most" or "best qualified" individual. No longer do many white managers hold the view that all Blacks are incapable of performing management jobs; however, many do believe Blacks can only perform certain types of managerial jobs which are related to the Black consumer market and/or Black personnel. In addition, while many corporations realize that Blacks can no longer be totally excluded from management positions, corporations have adopted the policy that if Blacks must be brought into management positions, they must be overly qualified in order to merit those positions which would normally be occupied by only average whites. Chapter V showed that 92 percent of the white managers believe that Blacks receive fair and equal treatment in their firms; however, 53 percent believe that Blacks must be better than whites to get ahead in their companies and that they are more careful in promoting Blacks than whites because they want to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them.

Of course institutional racism in the form of conventional rules, regulations, and procedures becomes more important at lower levels of management; however, Gronnemeier correctly noted that individuals who harbor neoracist attitudes generally interpret these rules, regulations, and procedures to the detriment of Blacks. He noted:

> The job descriptions mean in practice that application of qualification requirements is at the wide discretion of the hiring agent. The hiring agent's selection between available candidates is not presently subject to higher

> scrutiny but, even if it were, the looseness of the qualification standards would allow the hiring agent adequate means to conceal racially-discriminatory decisions so that they could not be discovered or proven in any objectively-demonstrable manner.[10]

From variations in types of racism at various occupational levels, this writer suggests that Blacks in the corporate world are confronted less frequently by overt, unsophisticated racist attitudes and acts than by institutional racism and the various forms of neoracism.

Chapter VI showed that only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not express any negative racial attitudes about Blacks and that the vast majority of both the Black and white managers are aware of negative racial atmospheres within their companies. The regression analysis in Chapter V, which showed that being white is worth $4,300 more a year, is evidence that these various forms of institutional racism and neoracist attitudes have been translated into discriminatory acts against Blacks. This is due primarily to the fact that the firms participating in this study have not taken concrete, determined steps to assure Blacks equal opportunity. In addition, they have not taken any concrete steps to eliminate institutional racism.

In sum: The major problem facing Black managers and white corporations is to confront the more subtle forms of racism in the corporate world so that Blacks can truly receive equal employment opportunities.

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[10] Dale Gronnemeier, "the Union White Paper on Racial Discrimination in Employment" (unpublished paper, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 20.

What the Participating Managers Believe Should Be Done to Provide Equal Employment Opportunities for Blacks

In the interviews the participating managers were given the opportunity to express their opinions about what should be done, if anything, in the area of affirmative action in order to assure Blacks equal employment opportunities.

In general, the vast majority of the Black and white managers believe that corporations should take public positions regarding civil rights--the Black managers taking a stronger stand than the white managers.

One Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank said: "Corporations by discriminating against Blacks are taking public positions regarding civil rights--they are taking a negative position."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility feels that: "Corporations make decisions every day which influence social attitudes. They take public stands and try to influence attitudes on issues which they believe will help or harm their firms, but very few will take a strong public stand regarding civil rights because they do not realize that the progress of civil rights can have a helpful or harmful effect on their firm. Corporations are afraid of being the leaders in the business community's efforts for civil rights or just do not want to take positive public stands on civil rights."

A white upper level manager from the same company believes the corporate world must take "rational and worthy" stands regarding civil rights because "corporations are an integral, powerful force in society and they can no longer ignore social problems."

An integral part of taking public positions regarding civil rights is for the firms to set an example in providing Blacks with equal opportunities. As the managers' responses to the next two questions show, most Black and many white managers believe their firms should take steps to provide Blacks with equal employment opportunities. The problem with some of the white managers' responses to these questions is that they generally believe their firms are already providing Blacks with equal employment opportunities but other firms are not; therefore, their responses generally apply to what they believe other firms should do rather than to what their firms should do. The first question the managers responded to was: Many companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve?

Table 1 shows which of the six factors the managers believe should be the most important "right thing" to do in the employment of Black managers.

The managers were given six choices. If they selected more than one, they were to indicate the order of importance of their choices.

When one looks at the second and third most important right things firms should do, one finds that more than a majority of the Black and white managers believe firms should do more than hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualifications, especially

TABLE 1

THE MOST IMPORTANT RIGHT THING COMPANIES SHOULD DO TO PROVIDE BLACKS EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Right Thing to Do	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	50 %	44 %
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	22	41
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	12	11
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	9	1
Do nothing.	7	3
Other.	0	0
Total	100	100

in the area of recruiting and training. Many of the managers believe that after firms recruit and train Black managers they should give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks; this was the most frequent second and third choice.[11]

When the three most important selections are combined, it is found that 45 percent of the Black managers and 57 percent of the white managers believe that "doing the right thing" means in part hiring and promoting strictly on the basis of qualifications for the job. Eighty-one percent of the Black managers and 69 percent of the white managers believe "doing the right thing" includes making special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks. Fifty-eight percent of the Black managers and 44 percent of the white managers believe careful attention should be given to the promotion of qualified Blacks. Finally, 25 percent of the Black and 13 percent of the white managers believe reverse discrimination should be practiced as part of "doing the right thing."

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[11] See Appendix B, pp. 556-557, for the frequency distribution of the managers' second and third choices.

In sum: Very few of the Black managers, 10 percent, and approximately 25 percent of the white managers believe that firms should only hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualifications for the job. The vast majority of the managers believe that special efforts should be made in the area of recruiting, hiring, training, and promoting Blacks; however, very few of them believe reverse discrimination should be part of firms' employment programs.

Finally, the managers were asked for their own personal suggestions about what should be done to provide equal employment opportunities for Blacks. The question was: Do you have any suggestions to further reduce barriers to Black managerial employment? Table 2 shows the managers' responses.

Some of the typical managers' responses follow:

One Black female from Ace Public Utility gave a very pessimistic response: "There is no way to reduce barriers as

TABLE 2

THE MANAGERS' SUGGESTIONS TO FURTHER REDUCE BARRIERS TO BLACK EMPLOYMENT

Suggestions	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Companies should adopt and enforce Affirmative Action Programs with specific goals, timetables, and standards.	23 %	12 %
Whites should be educated and made more aware and sensitive; they should learn about Black history, culture, etc.; they should have actual contact with a number of Black people so their stereotype of Blacks can be overcome.	12	9
No suggestions.	11	25
Establish and/or place more Blacks into management training programs.	11	11
Discipline the white racists, by weeding them out, firing them, etc.	11	1
Companies should improve the caliber of their recruiters, employ more Black recruiters and improve their recruiting methods.	7	6
An undeniable, known commitment from top management to other managers and to the community.	7	4
There should be more interaction between Blacks and whites so that both groups could begin to understand and respect each other more.	5	9
Blacks should prepare themselves, i.e., get an education, training, skills, etc.	5	7

TABLE 2 (continued)

Suggestions	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Blacks should not become complacent; they should continue to pressure firms from the inside and outside.	5 %	0 %
Blacks, themselves, can be the most effective in eliminating barriers by doing outstanding jobs in their present positions.	4	5
Blacks must have more positive attitudes toward themselves.	3	3
Doesn't believe there are any barriers.	1	5
Time will break down the barriers.	1	2
Do not practice reverse discrimination.	0	5
Corporations should become more involved in cooperating with and assisting educational institutions to educate Blacks.	0	5
It is the Blacks' own fault that they haven't made it; their attitude is bad, i.e., they are lazy, don't want to work, etc.	0	2
Other	5	10
Total*	111	111

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers gave several suggestions.

long as you have the same kind of people (WASPs) running corporations. Corporations attract the same kind of people who are generally conservative white racists . . ."

A Black lower level male from the same company suggested that: "White supervisors should be made resonsible for their actions on the job. Their promotions and raises should be dependent on their ability to treat all people fairly."

A white upper level manager again from the same company: "Whites should make a determined effort to interact more with Blacks. Blacks should be less sensitive about what whites say and do. The whites normally don't know or understand what they are saying or doing."

Another upper level white manager from Aunts Manufacturing suggested that: "The most significant thing to do to reduce barriers is to get management to understand that all of the concepts involved in this change process of minority involvement is not only the hiring process. You can force industry to hire but it is more difficult to force them to promote."

Lastly, a white lower level male from Ajax Manufacturing: "There is nothing stopping them (Blacks). There has been a push for giving them the opportunity to obtain a higher education and this has given them a shot in the arm. It is their own fault for not having the necessary education to get jobs. This is true for women too."

The responses of the managers to the previous questions clearly suggest that the vast majority of them believe that industry should take special steps in order to provide equal employment opportunities for Blacks. The most serious problem with the white managers' responses is that they are probably more likely to support affirmative action to improve the Black managers' situation just as long as those actions do not affect their own careers. This was evident in Chapter III where it was noted that many of the Black and white managers believe that resistance to equal employment opportunity is greatest in the managerial ranks where there are Blacks competing with whites. In addition, even though the white managers believe other firms should take action to insure Blacks equal opportunities, they generally believe that their own firms afford Blacks equal employment opportunities and thus do not need to take affirmative steps.

The Advice the Black Managers Would Give to Other Blacks

In order to give the reader some insight into the Black managers' views as to what Blacks should do to get ahead in corporations, the managers were asked several questions. One question was: Would you advise a young Black man or woman just out of school or college to enter the business world? Ninety-four percent of the Black managers would advise young Blacks just out of school or college to enter the business world. This is somewhat surprising because the vast majority of the Black managers believe the corporate world in general and their firms have biased, hostile, frustrating atmospheres and provide limited opportunities for Black managers.

The primary reason for this seeming inconsistency is that most of the Black managers believe racism exists in all institutions (government, academic, and business) because this is basically a racist society. Thus they believe Blacks have similar opportunities in the business world as they do in governmental service or the academic world.

The managers were then asked: What would you say is the best way for a young Black to achieve high managerial positions? Their advice was to develop skills, do a good job, work hard, always strive for more, set goals, and don't let people deal with you unfairly. Much of this advice is based on the Black managers' realization that they must be better qualified than whites to get ahead in the corporate world. It should be noted that none of the Black managers suggested that the young Blacks should try to get things just because they are Black, which many white managers believe is the case.[12]

The advice the Black managers would give to young Blacks to achieve high managerial positions is much more idealistic than the advice the managers would give to Blacks entering their firms. In general, the advice most frequently mentioned by the Black managers that they would give to other Blacks entering their firms is to stand up for what they believe is right--be your own man. This is not surprising since it was learned in Chapter V that conformity to company standards in terms of dress, physical appearance, and attitudes are strong forces in these companies. Many Blacks believe that when whites say Blacks must conform to company standards they mean that Blacks should be "yes" niggers.

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[12] See Appendix B, pp. 557-558, for advice the Black managers would give young Blacks to achieve high managerial positions.

The second most frequently mentioned advice was to be aware and cautious of corporate politics and be able to use corporate politics to their advantage. Again this advice is consistent with the Black managers' opinions concerning the important role politics plays in the hiring and promoting policies of their companies.

Other important advice the Black managers would give to incoming Black managers is: to pursue the best education possible, to keep abreast of your job, and to work hard and always do your job well.

In short, the advice the Black managers would give to other incoming Black managers is a warning to the Black managers to be suspicious and cautious because they are entering hostile atmosphere.

In sum: The advice the Black managers would give to other Blacks who are considering the world as a place for employment is that they must realize that in order to succeed they must be more "qualified" than whites, make few, if any, mistakes, watch out for politics, and stand up for their rights.

What Can and Should Be Done to Provide Equal Employment Opportunities for Blacks--A Personal Note

This section offers the writer's suggestions as to what the corporate world and Blacks as a group and as individuals should and can do in order to assure that Blacks will be provided with equal employment opportunities.

First, white executives and officials must recognize that racism exists in the corporations at all managerial levels. Because this racism is deeply embedded, special efforts must be made to assure that Blacks are afforded equal employment opportunities. Corporations should realize that these special efforts and steps do not constitute a program of favoritism, preferential treatment, or reverse discrimination, but that they must be taken in order for firms to achieve a non-discriminatory policy.

Blauner makes the case that "preferential treatment" is not reverse racism:

> The idea of reverse racism is often used to discredit various projects for "preferential treatment." In the university context this means special admissions programs for minority students and deliberate efforts to hire third world faculty and other employees. The pure liberal position holds that color and ethnicity should be irrelevant to all decisions and that the elimination of overt discrimination is as far as any institution should move toward the goal of racial equality. The mistake of this position is its assumption that patterns of racial subjugation, the exclusion of people of color from an equitable share of social opportunity, can be eliminated by simply ending discrimination. Since much of racial exclusion is the present-day reflection or residue of past racial discrimination and the disadvantages suffered by people of color earlier in their lives, special efforts and energies must be extended to actively reverse inequality. Preferential treatment is not racism in reverse because its purpose and goal is not to turn our racial order on its head so that nonwhites will be in the position of dominance . . . . I must also note that the cry of reverse racism is not only raised by white liberals who have been personally dedicated to civil rights and integration; it is more and

> more raised by conservatives, including professors, who have never raised a finger in the past about the society's predominant white racism.[13]

As early as 1964, Charles E. Silberman adopted a similar position:

> Most of the discussion of Negro demands for preferential treatment, and for "reverse quotas" have missed the essential point. The object is not compensation in the sense of making it up to the Negro for past injustices; it is to overcome the tendencies to exclude the Negro which are built into the very marrow of American society . . . . A formal policy of non-discrimination, a policy of employing people "regardless of race, color, or creed," however estimable, usually works out in practice to be a policy of employing whites only . . . . As soon as we agree that special measures are necessary to overcome the heritage of past discrimination, the question of number, of how many Negroes are to be hired, in what job categories inevitably arises. Not to use numbers for a yardstick for measuring performance is, in effect, to revert to "tokenism."[14]

On August 4, 1972, the American Jewish Committee came out strongly against quotas and both Presidential candidates, Nixon and McGovern, sent letters to the American Jewish Committee agreeing with its stance. The September 18, 1972, issue of Time published an article which essentially said that the quota system (goals and timetables) to improve the situation of minorities (Blacks) is the sleeping and most explosive issue in the presidential campaign. The article quoted Nathan Glazer as saying:

> It's good when people are informally aware that major segments of the population must be represented in key areas of society . . . . But it's

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[13] Blauner, Racial Oppression in America, p. 261.

[14] Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York, 1964), p. 241.

> bad when you start arguing over specific percentages to assign to each area. The process of trading off efficiencies for arbitrary percentage equality ultimately loses sight of merit almost entirely. It's tragic that we should see the emergence of quotas at the very time the figures are showing great progress without them.[15]

But Glazer's assumptions are mistaken. To set specific percentages in order to meet certain objectives is not to trade off efficiency for equality. His statement is based on the racist assumption that Blacks are less qualified and/or there are few qualified Blacks.

Carl Rowan in an article entitled "A Defense of Job Quotas" wrote:

> It is going to come as a wry shock to millions of hungry, miserable Black Americans that they have been getting so many of the goodies of American life that the white majority feels discriminated against.
>
> Honest officials have simply noted that the bureaucracy does not respond to general orders to end discrimination. You have to spell out a "goal." Only then will personnel departments cut out the nonsense where a Black college graduate is adjudged scarcely capable of cleaning spitoons.
>
> Now--about this college bit. As a trustee of a couple of fair-to-middlin' institutions, I've learned how the system works. Grades are just one factor in determining who gets in. Leadership potential is, and ought to be, every bit as important as book-wormish qualities. The child of a prominent alumnus with a B-plus has a leg up on another applicant with straight A's. The offspring of a generous donor has an advantage. A strong recommendation from a respected teacher or principal will make a lot of C's and B's look like A's.

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[15] _Time_, Sept. 18, 1972, p. 39.

> Good colleges don't want to be country clubs; they would be lesser educational facilities if they were. So they need minorities. Why shouldn't they consider some other-than-grades factors to make their student bodies more representative of the nation?[16]

The resentment whites feel toward the special efforts which must be taken to assure equal employment opportunities for Blacks will only lead to greater tensions between whites and Blacks which will eventually have to be overcome. The longer these steps are put off, the greater the cost and the harder it will be to overcome the problems. Companies should remember that change from racist, unequal systems to equitable ones cannot occur without personal and social trauma; therefore, cries of preferential treatment and reverse discrimination should be viewed as what they are--fear on the part of the white males that they are no longer in privileged positions.

The first step a company should take in order to assure that Blacks are provided with equal opportunities is to establish goals and timetables for all departments/divisions/sections. These goals and timetables should not only be directed to the overall number of Blacks in the company, but to the number of Blacks in specific levels of the hierarchy and job areas.

As the company develops its goals and timetables, it should begin to do three things: (1) develop the organizational structure necessary to insure compliance with the programs; (2) recruit and train Black managers; and (3) develop a reward system

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[16] Carl Rowan, "A Defense of Job Quotas," San Francisco Examiner, Sept. 6, 1972, p. 9.

system which would give pormotional and salary increases to those managers who are meeting their equal employment goals and demotions and/or dismissals to those who are not.

Some readers may believe the last suggestion is ridiculous; however, goals and timetables are set for many other managerial activities and managers are rewarded or not according to their ability to meet these goals and timetables. Therefore, this system should also apply to equal employment opportunity goals. The sooner companies begin to really practice equality in employment, the less time and money they will spend in answering discrimination charges and more time and money can be spent on making a profit.

In addition to developing strong, effective Affirmative Action Programs which will assure that all employees are treated equally, firms can insure the following management program that all employees have more satisfying and rewarding jobs, that all employees are evaluated by more objective criteria, and that the potential and career planning of all employees is realistically and objectively evaluated. The end result of a strong, effective Affirmative Action Program in conjunction with the following managerial program will greatly assist firms in combatting the fear among their white managers of Black competition and the concern among Blacks that they will not be treated in an equitable menner. In addition, these programs will help increase the effective operation of the company.

The three main concepts of the program are: job enrichment, joint target setting (management by objectives), and assessment through assessment centers. Many firms already use these three main concepts; however, they are not used throughout the entire organization and not in any systematic related manner.

Briefly, this program would insure that all jobs, where practical, be re-evaluated to make certain that they are "whole" jobs or work modules with specific, well-defined responsibilities, and that the individuals responsible for carrying them out have the necessary decision making powers to successfully perform the jobs. The design of "whole" jobs or work modules should be a mutual task between bosses and the subordinates. Once the job (work module) is designed, the boss and subordinate should mutually develop and agree on the major targets (goals) and how these targets are to be measured. Subordinates' performances will be judged on how well they do in meeting the targets and not on subjective criteria such as race, sex, dress, personality, etc. It is obvious that in order for bosses and subordinates to mutually develop and agree on targets which the subordinate will be held accountable for and evaluated on, the job must be well designed. Finally, to assist the bosses in evaluating their subordinates, the bosses should be trained on validated assessment techniques which would also assist them in developing jobs which would make it easier for them to evaluate their subordinates' performance and potential. In addition, all managers in middle and lower management should attend assessment centers which would evaluate their managerial potential, so that a check could be made on their bosses' evaluation of their potential, so that more systematic career planning could be carried out.

More specifically, in order to institute the previous porgram, corporations should train their managers to enrich jobs.[17] Robert Ford has noted that one of the biggest troubles with a job is that no one has full responsibility for a total job; therefore, one of the main characteristics of a good job is that it is a module. In creating a module the boss should initially fit the job to the subordinate and not the subordinate to the job. Ford wrote the following with regard to modules:

> The modules of most jobs can be improved, we have concluded. Responsibilities or tasks that exist elsewhere in the shop or in some other shop or department need to be combined with the job under review. This horizontal loading is necessary until the base of the job is right. However, I have not yet seen a job whose base was too broad.

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[17] See the following books and articles which deal with job enrichment:

J. F. Biggane and Paul A. Stuart, Job Enlargement: A Case Study, Research Series 25, Bureau of Labor and Management, College of Business Administration, State University of Iowa (Iowa City, Ia., 1963). Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factor Worker and His Industry (Chicago, 1964). Louis E. Davis, "Toward a Theory of Job Design," Journal of Industrial Engineering, VII (1956). Robert N. Ford, Motivation Through the Work Itself (New York, 1969). Robert N. Ford, "Job Enrichment Lessons from AT&T," Harvard Business Review, 51, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1973), 96-106. Fred K. Foulkes, Creating More Meaningful Work (New York, 1969). F. Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man (Cleveland, 1966). Alfred J. Marrow, David G. Bowers, and S. E. Seashore, Management by Participation (New York, 1967). Leslie Stephens, "A Case for Job Enlargement," Personnel Management, Sept., 1963. Victor H. Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York, 1964).

> At levels higher than entrance grade, and especially in management position, many responsibilities can be moved to lower grade levels, usually to the advantage of every job involved. This vertical loading is especially important in mature organizations.[18]

Another important component of a good job, Ford believes, is to let the subordinates have control of other job modules, that is, subordinates should have decision making authority to carry out their responsibilities. He gave the following example:

> In the directory-compilation case cited--which was a typical assembly-line procedure, although the capital investment was low--the supervisors found that they could safely permit the employee to say when sales of advertisements in the yellow pages must stop if the ads were to reach the printer on time.
>
> Employees of South Central Bell Telephone Company, who set their own cutoff dates for the New Orleans, Monroeville, and Shreveport phone books, consistently gave themselves less time than management had previously allowed. As a result, the sale of space in the yellow pages one year continued for three additional weeks, producing more than $100,000 in extra revenue.
>
> But that was only one element in the total module and its control. The directory clerks talked directly to salesmen, to the printer, to supervisors in other departments about production problems, to service representatives, and to each other as the books moved through the production stages.[19]

Ford's final component of a good job is that the subordinate receive sufficient feedback about his/her performance:

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[18] Ford, "Job Enrichment Lessons from AT&T," p. 96.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

> Definition of the module and control of it are futile unless the results of the employee's effort are discernible. Moreover, knowledge of the results should go directly to where it will nurture motivation--that is, to the employee. People have a great capacity for mid-flight correction when they know where they stand . . . .
>
> When the module is right, you get feedback "for free"; it comes directly from the customer/client/task. During the learning period, however, the supervisor or teacher should provide the feedback.[20]

Ford's book and article give the impression that the boss does all the deciding on the work module, control, and feedback. Job enrichment with only the boss making the decisions generally will not lead to the following conclusion of Ford because decisions made solely by the boss about the subordinate's job will not lead to a total commitment on the part of the subordinate. This is where job enrichment and joint target setting are tied together. Ford wrote:

> When the work is right, employee attitudes are right. That is the job enrichment strategy--get the work right.[21]

It is obvious that new employees will not be able to contribute much to decisions about their job design and their initial responsibilities, means of measurement and targets; however, bosses should begin at the initial meeting to initiate the joint target setting or management by objectives procedures. Henry L. Tosi, *et al*. give this general definition of management by objectives or joint target setting:[22]

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[20] *Ibid*., p. 101.

[21] *Ibid*., p. 106.

> Management by objectives is a process in which members of complex organizations, working in conjunction with one another, identify common goals and coordinate their efforts toward achieving them. It emphasizes the future and change, since an objective or target is an end state, or a condition to be achieved or have in effect at some future time. The emphasis is on where the organization is going--the what and the how of its intended accomplishments. Objectives can be thought of as statements of purpose and direction, formalized into a system of management. They may be long-range or short-range. They may be general, to provide direction to an entire organization, or they may be highly specific to provide detailed direction for a given individual.[23]

Defined another way, joint target setting or management by objectives is a continuous process whereby bosses and subordinates periodically define and agree on the subordinates' responsibilities, agree on means of measuring the responsibilities, agree on target levels and use these agreed-upon targets as guides for reaching organizations' goals and for assessing the subordinate's contribution to reaching these goals.

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[22] See the following books discussing joint target setting or management by objectives:

Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, The Managerial Grid (Houston, Tex., 1964). John P. Campbell, Marvin D. Dunnette, Edward E. Lawlor, and Karl E. Weick, Managerial Behavior, Performance, and Effectiveness (New York, 1970). Peter F. Drucker, The Practice of Management (New York, 1954). Peter F. Drucker, Managing for Results (New York, 1964). Frederick Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man (New York, 1966). Charles L. Hughes, Goal Setting (New York, 1965). Rensis Likert, New Patterns of Management (New York, 1961). Douglas McGregor, The Human Side of Enterprise (New York, 1960). George S. Odiorne, Management Decisions by Objectives (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969). George S. Odiorne, Management by Objectives (New York, 1965).

[23] Henry L. Tosi, et al., "Setting Goals in Management by Objectives," California Management Review, III, No. 4 (Summer, 1970), 70.

The advantages of the subordinate and boss agreeing on the subordinate's major responsibilities, means of measurement, and targets are: (1) there will be a clear understanding between boss and subordinate about the subordinate's responsibilities and target levels; (2) the subordinate will have a stronger commitment to completing the job successfully and on time, i.e., there is control through commitment; (3) the subordinate will know how well he/she is performing at all times; (4) the boss will have some objective criteria upon which to evaluate the subordinate's performance; (5) the subordinate will be able to challenge, if necessary, the boss's evaluation of his/her performance based on objective criteria; and (6) if a subordinate is not promoted or is terminated and files a discriminatory complaint against the company, the company will have objective documented proof to support their case.

The final component of this managerial strategy is assessment procedures and centers.[24]

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[24] See the following articles:

D. W. Bray, "The Assessment Center Method of Appraising Management Potential," in J. W. Blood, ed., The Personnel Job in a Changing World (New York, 1964), pp. 225-234. D. W. Bray and R. J. Campbell, "Assessment Centers: An Aid in Management Selection," Personnel Administration, 30 (1967), 6-13. D. W. Bray and R. J. Campbell, "Selection of Salesmen by Means of an Assessment Center," Journal of Applied Psychology, 52 (1968), 36-41. D. W. Bray and D. L. Grant, "The Assessment Center in the Measurement of Potential for Business Management," Psychological Monographs, 80 (1966), 17. D. W. Bray and D. L. Grant, "Contributions

Although writing about women, Douglas W. Bray, one of the leading experts on assessment, made some very relevant comments about changes occurring in the employment of women (minorities):

> That situation (discrimination) is now changing, thanks to strong legal and social pressures. But effective change requires both motivation and method. Motivation to provide greater opportunity for women there is in abundance, not only in legislation and unrest among female employees, but in management's growing awareness of the tremendous hidden waste incurred in the failure to let women use their full potential. Method, however, is something else. Good intentions alone won't go far to correct imbalances and injustices that have been years in the making. Programs and techniques are needed.[25]

Continuing, he noted that even white males who encounter no attitudinal resistance are quite frequently not properly utilized because of internal organizational barriers which inhibit free

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of the Interview to Assessment of Management Potential," Journal of Applied Psychology, 53 (1969), 24-34. D. W. Bray, D. L. Grant, and W. Katkovsky, "Contributions of Projective Techniques to Assessment of Management Potential," Journal of Applied Psychology, 51 (1967), 226-232. D. W. Bray and J. L. Moses, "Personnel Selection," Annual Review of Psychology (1972), 23. W. C. Byham and G. C. Thornton, "Assessment Centers: A New Aid in Management Selection," Studies in Personnel Psychology, 2 (1970), 21-35. W. E. Dodd, "Summary of IBM Assessment Validations," paper presented as part of the symposium, "Validity of Assessment Centers," at the 79th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971. J. L. Moses, "Assessment Center Performance and Management Progress," paper presented as part of the symposium, "Validity of Assessment Centers," at the 79th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971. P. F. Wernimont and J. P. Campbell, "Signs, Samples and Criteria," Journal of Applied Psychology, 52 (1968), 372-376.

[25] Douglas W. Bray, "The Assessment Center: Opportunities for Women," Personnel Magazine, Sept.-Oct., 1971, p. 30.

movement of employees from department to department. Some of the barriers, according to Bray, are "the inability to identify employees with unrealized potential, the reluctance of a department head to accept a transferee on somebody else's say-so or to part with a good employee, and candidates' lack of relevant experience to qualify for transfer." He suggested that if it is difficult for white males to move in the organization, it is even more difficult for women, and one could say minorities. He foresaw great difficulty in convincing managers that women have the ability to perform those jobs which have been associated with males. With regard to blacks, one could argue that it will be difficult to convince white managers that Blacks have the ability to perform in white jobs, i.e., jobs which are not related to the Black consumer market or Black employees.

Bray also noted that women (minorities) may have bosses who are skeptical to promote them because many of the jobs they presently hold do not allow them to demonstrate their real potential. Thus he concluded what is needed is solid evidence that women (minority) candidates have the necessary qualities for the lateral or promotional position.[26] He wrote:

> A thorough evaluation of potential is needed not only as a persuader, but to determine that the candidate actually does have the abilities needed. A program of fuller utilization of women will proceed much more quickly if those who are transferred or advanced do well in their new assignments; too many poor choices would constitute a major setback.

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[26] _Ibid._, p. 31.

> The answer may be the management assessment center, which has been demonstrated to be both an accurate method of evaluating potential and one that line managers are ready to accept. Introduced a little over a decade ago, this method is now being widely utilized in fifteen large companies, including the Bell System, where it was designed, General Electric, IBM, and Sears, Roebuck and Company, as well as several government agencies.[27]

At assessment centers managers are put through standardized performance situations which allow the assessment center staff to evaluate the managers' managerial abilities and potential primarily through simulated exercises. Some of the important managerial dimensions which the trainers are able to evaluate are leadership, flexibility, communications skills, planning and organizing, aptitude, decisiveness, and motivation.

Bray described the workings of the assessment center in the following manner:

> All exercises at the assessment center are observed by members of a trained staff, who pool their observations at a meeting in which each candidate is intensively reviewed. The candidate is rated on a number of management factors and a final judgment is then made about both the degree of management ability possessed and future developmental needs. A summary of these deliberations is sent to the appropriate level of management and face-to-face feedbacks to the individual participants are given within a week or two, often handled by the assessment staff members themselves.[28]

William C. Byham noted the following advantages of assessment centers:

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., p. 32.

> The exercises used are designed to bring out the specific skills and aptitudes needed in the position(s) for which a group of candidates is being assessed.
>
> Since the exercises are standardized, assessors evaluate the candidates under relatively constant conditions and thus are able to make valid comparative judgments.
>
> The assessors usually do not know the candidates personally; so, being emotionally disengaged, they are unbiased.
>
> The assessors are shielded from the many interruptions of normal working conditions and cay pay full attention to the candidates' behavior in the exercises.
>
> The procedures focus their attention on the primary kinds of behavior they ought to observe in evaluating a promotion candidate.
>
> They have been trained to observe and evaluate these kinds of behavior.[29]

An advantage which Byham does not indicate is that evaluations are more objective, when more than one person is involved. However, if assessment centers are going to assess minorities and women, their staffs should include minorities and women to assure that racist and sexist attitudes do not hinder a fair evaluation. In addition, the assessors should be aware of racist and sexist views of assessees which might hinder a minority or women opportunities to demonstrate their true ability.

Bray noted that he was not arguing that assessment centers will solve all the problems of giving women (minorities) equal opportunities, but he does believe they would go a long way in providing equal opportunity for women (minorities) in the shortest possible time.

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[29] William C. Byham, "Assessment Centers for Spotting Future Managers," Harvard Business Review (July-Aug., 1970), 151.

This writer believes that not only will it be helpful to send managers to assessment centers for evaluation, but that all managers should be taught assessment techniques. Not only would this assist the managers in objectively evaluating their subordinates' potential, but it would also assist them in developing work modules and setting targets which would allow them to measure additional supervisory skills.

The writer suggests that if firms develop the systematic, planned managerial program which was just discussed, many of the fears of both the Black and white managers will disappear; however, it will not in itself afford Blacks true equal employment opportunities because many of the white managers will find it very difficult to deal with Blacks in the mutual manner which is necessary to agree on job enrichment and joint target setting.

In order to assure that most white managers with negative racial attitudes will not translate their attitudes into actions, firms must have well developed Affirmative Action Programs and effective compliance procedures. Chapter III puts forth some ideas about what constitutes an effective Affirmative Action Program.

In concluding this study, the writer would like to say that Black managers or Blacks in general must face up to the fact that they cannot only depend on the government or any other force to assure them equal employment opportunities. Those Blacks who are in corporations must realize that not only must they continuously stand up for their rights to be treated fairly, but they must also assist other Blacks in their companies in receiving equality of opportunity.

Furthermore, the Black population in general should adopt the boycott techniques used by the Rev. Jesse Jackson to force white corporations to provide Blacks with equal employment opportunities. As Clifford Alexander noted:

> . . . Blacks have a tremendous purchasing power, variously estimated from $21 to $40 billion, that they spend on a large number of products. This, of course, could make or break certain kinds of products. It has been said that in the beer industry, for example, 26 percent of the consumption is by Blacks. This is one example. There are other consumer products where the percentages are even higher.[30]

In short, what Blacks must remember is that whites will not concede anything to Blacks unless Blacks demand and struggle for their fair share. As Frederick Douglass noted in 1849:

> Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue till they have resisted either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they suppress.[31]

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[30] Alexander, p. 7.

[31] Black Scholar, Oct., 1970, p. 15.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Schedule[1]

Introduction

All information reported in this interview schedule will be held in strict confidence. No information from these sources will be published in such a manner that data relating to the interviewee or to his company can be identified. In addition, no information reported in this interview schedule will be released to the interviewee's firm in a manner which would allow his firm to identify him as the source of information.

Firm Name ______________________________

Interviewee's Code Number 1/ ___

2/ ___

3/ ___

4/ ___

Card # 5/1

---

[1] The writer used many comments from the 1969-1972 issues of MBA to develop questions for this study. He also borrowed many questions from Robert P. Quinn, *et al.*, *The Decision to Discriminate: A Study of Executive Selection* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968).

Part I. (QUESTIONS ABOUT JOB EXPERIENCES)

First, we would like to ask you several questions about your promotional opportunities, goals, and career pattern.

6-12/1. Which, if any, of the following factors helped you attain your present position? (SHOW CARD 1) (CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE)

0. ___ Experience within the company
1. ___ Experience in another company
2. ___ Experience in the government
3. ___ Experience in the military
4. ___ Experience in social agencies
5. ___ Experience in the academic world
6. ___ Investment in the company
7. ___ Inheritance or family influence
8. ___ Initiative in organizing the company
9. ________________________________ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

13/2. Have you progressed as rapidly as you think you should in this company?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF NO)

2a. Why do you say this? ________________________________

____

____

____

14-17/3. Approximately how many years or months do you think it will be before you are advanced to a position at a higher level?

14/a. ___ years   15/b. ___ months

16/c. ___ never   17/d. ___ don't know

18-19/4. Approximately when would you like to be advanced to a position at a higher level?

18/a. ___ years   19/b. ___ months

20/5. If things go according to your greatest expectations, will you stay with this company?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

20a. What position in this company would you like to end up with? ______________________________

______________________________ Name of Position

(IF NO)

20b. What position would you like to end up with? __________

______________________________ Name of Position

21/6. How would you rate your chances of getting this position?

0. ___ Excellent

1. ___ Good

2. ___ Fair

3. ___ Poor

22/7. Are there any major obstacles which are preventing you from achieving this position?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

What are the major obstacles? ________________________________

____

____

____

8. If you had the power to make any improvements you wished to make, what changes would you institute in the promotion policy of your firm? ________________________

____

____

____

____

23/9. On this card are different reasons people may have for choosing a certain job. (SHOW CARD 2) Just supposing you were going to choose a new job, which one of the things on this card would be most important to you?

0. ___ High income

1. ___ No danger of being fired; security

2. ___ Lots of free time

3. ___ Chances for advancement

4. ___ The work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment

5. ___ The work is interesting

6. ___ The work gives lots of chances to meet people

7. ______________________________ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

24/9a. Which of the remaining things on the card is second in importance?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (CIRCLE ONE)

25/9b. Which of the things listed here would be of least importance to you?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (CIRCLE ONE)

26/10. If you wanted to leave your position with this company, how difficult do you believe it would be to obtain a comparable position somewhere else with similar income and fringe benefits? (SHOW CARD 3)

0. ___ Very difficult

1. ___ Fairly difficult

2. ___ Not very difficult

3. ___ Not difficult at all

10a. Why do you believe this? ______________________________

____

____

____

All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain kinds of things in our work. Listed below are a number of examples of things that sometimes bother people. We would like you to respond to each example in terms of how frequently you feel bothered by each of them. (SHOW CARD 4) Please do not bother to take much time with each statement; your first impression is perfectly all right.

27/11. Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

28/12. Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

29/13. The possibility of losing your job.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

30/14. Thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

31/15. Not knowing what your superior thinks of you, how he evaluates your performance.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

32/16. The fact that you can't get information needed to carry out your job.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

33/17. Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

34/18. Feeling unable to influence your immediate superior's decisions and actions that affect you.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time.

35/19. Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may interfere with how well it gets done.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

36/20. Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

The following questions deal with things your immediate superior might or might not do. Please indicate the one alternative that best describes the person who supervises you. (CONTINUE SHOWING CARD 4)

37/21. Lets those he supervises set their own work pace.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

38/22. Checks on the work of his/her subordinates.

0. ___ Never
1. ___ Rarely
2. ___ Rather often
3. ___ Nearly all the time

Please answer the following questions in terms of how satisfied you are with each. (SHOW CARD 5)

39/23. With the group you work with.

0. ___ Completely satisfied
1. ___ Very satisfied
2. ___ Not very satisfied
3. ___ Not at all satisfied

40/24. With the type of work you do.

0. ___ Completely satisfied
1. ___ Very satisfied
2. ___ Not very satisfied
3. ___ Not at all satisfied

41/25. With your salary.

0. ___ Completely satisfied
1. ___ Very satisfied
2. ___ Not very satisfied
3. ___ Not at all satisfied

42/26. With your company in general.

0. ___ Completely satisfied
1. ___ Very satisfied
2. ___ Not very satisfied
3. ___ Not at all satisfied

27. What type of work would you try to get into if you could start all over again? ______________________________

____

____

(IF DIFFERENT FROM PRESENT TYPE OF WORK)

28. Why would you prefer this to the work you are doing now?

____

____

____

43/29. If you could begin working over again, would you choose this company as a place to work?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

Next we would like to find out about the jobs you've had.

Let's start with the earliest.

30. What was/is your job title (before this)? (RECORD COL. I)

31. For what company are/were you working? (RECORD COL. II)

32. Would you please indicate in a word or two how you found your position, i.e., recruited by a company, employment agencies, friends, etc. (RECORD COL. III)

33. When did you first get this job and when did you leave it? (RECORD COL. IV)

I Job Title	II Company	III How Found Job	IV Duration of Job
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			

34. What kind of work do/did you do at this job? (RECORD COL. V)

35. Did you take any test for this position? If so, what type of test, i.e., skills, achievement, psychological? (RECORD COL. VI)

36. What is the size of the budget you directly control? (RECORD COL. VII)

37. How many people are directly under your supervision? (RECORD COL. VIII)

38. Approximately what was your hourly wage, weekly or monthly salary when you started and left your position? (IF CAN'T GET SALARY, GET SALARY SCALE) (RECORD COL. IX)

(REPEAT Q30-38 FOR ALL JOBS LISTED)

V Type of Work	VI Test Taken	VII Size of Budget	VIII Number of Subordinates	IX Salary
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				

PART II. (MANAGER'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE COMPANY'S HIRING AND PROMOTING POLICIES IN THE AREAS OF INFLUENCE, UNDERSTANDING, AND PRACTICE)

This next section is about your relationship to your company's hiring and promoting policies.

46/39. How much influence do you feel you have over the hiring and promoting policies of this company? (SHOW CARD 6)

0. ___ A very great deal
1. ___ A great deal
2. ___ A little
3. ___ No influence

47/40. How much influence do you feel you have over the hiring and promoting policies that affect this department and/or division?

0. ___ A very great deal
1. ___ A great deal
2. ___ A little
3. ___ No influence

48/41. To what extent is your understanding of this company's hiring and promoting policies based on memos, job descriptions, or other kinds of written communications? (SHOW CARD 7)

0. ___ A very great extent
1. ___ A great extent
2. ___ A little
3. ___ Not at all

49/42. To what extent is your understanding of these policies based on your own personal observations?

0. ___ A very great extent
1. ___ A great extent
2. ___ A little
3. ___ Not at all

50/43. Are you in agreement with the hiring and promoting policies of this company?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

43a. Why is this? ______________________________

____

____

44. What are the kinds of things about a management candidate that might make you hesitate to hire or promote him, other than his lack of experience and job knowledge?

____

____

____

____

____

51/45. In making a decision to hire or promote someone to a management position, how free do you feel to deviate from the formal policies of this company? (SHOW CARD 8)

0. ___ Very free
1. ___ Fairly free
2. ___ Not very free
3. ___ Not at all free

52/46. How often would you say you have actually deviated from the hiring or promoting policies? (SHOW CARD 9)

0. ___ Very often
1. ___ Fairly often
2. ___ Not very often
3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO QUESTION 47)

46a. Would you give some examples of how your decisions tend to deviate from these policies? ____________________

____

____

____

____

47. In general, what are some important policies which are not written into the formal company policy, i.e., practices which may not be written or discussed but that they realistically affect decisions? ____________________

____

____

48. Would you please discuss specific cases where Black managers were hired and/or not hired, promoted and/or not promoted. (PROBE TO GET AT WHAT WENT INTO EACH DECISION) ______________________________

____

____

____

____

49. Now we would like to get your views as to how several groups might feel about the hiring or promoting of Black people into management positions in the company. (SHOW CARD 10) First . . .

A. . . . would (READ "a" BELOW) feel in any way uncomfortable if you hired or promoted someone who was Black? (REPEAT FOR GROUPS "b" THROUGH "e")

		0 YES	1 NO
53/a.	. . . any of your (CUSTOMERS OR DISTRIBUTORS) . . .	___	___
54/b.	. . . any (MANAGEMENT PERSONS FROM OTHER COMPANIES) . . .	___	___
55/c.	. . . any (PEOPLE AT OR BELOW YOUR LEVEL IN THE COMPANY) . . .	___	___
56/d.	. . . your (IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR) . . .	___	___
57/e.	. . . any of the (PERSONS ABOVE YOUR IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR) . . .	___	___

(IF YES TO ANY OF QUESTION 49)

50. In making a hiring or promotional decision, to what extent must you take into account the feelings of these/this

(READ "a" BELOW). Must you take account of their feelings to a very great extent, a great extent, some extent, a little extent, or not at all? (SHOW CARD 11) (REPEAT FOR GROUPS "b" THROUGH "e")

		0 VERY GREAT EXTENT	1 GREAT EXTENT	2 SOME EXTENT	3 LITTLE EXTENT	4 NOT AT ALL
58/a.	CUSTOMERS OR DISTRIBUTORS	___	___	___	___	___
59/b.	MANAGEMENT FROM OTHER COMPANIES	___	___	___	___	___
60/c.	PEOPLE AT OR BELOW YOUR LEVEL	___	___	___	___	___
61/d.	IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR	___	___	___	___	___
62/e.	PERSONS ABOVE IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR	___	___	___	___	___

63/51. Would you have answered any of the previous questions differently ten years ago?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

51a. Why would you have done so? ______________________________

____

____

____

PART III. (BLACK AND WHITE MANAGERS' VIEWS AND ATTITUDES)

Now we would like to get your views about Black managers and their position in business.

52. How do you account for a seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry? ______________________________

____

____

____

53. How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? ______________________________

____

____

____

54. At what managerial level (lower, middle, or upper) do you believe your company's Equal Employment Opportunity Program meets the most resistance? (PROBE) ____________

____

____

____

66/55. Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

55a. What is the evidence? ________________________________

____

____

____

56. In your company, how far up the executive ladder do you believe a Black can go? ________________________

____

56a. Why is this? ________________________________

____

____

67-71/57. May comp[illegible]dicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (SHOW CARD 11) (CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE IF NECESSARY. IF SELECTS MORE THAN ONE, INDICATE BY 0-4 WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT, 0 BEING MOST IMPORTANT)

0. ___ Hire strictly on the basis of qualification for the job

1. ___ Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks

2. ___ Practice positive (reverse) discrimination

3. ___ Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks

4. ___ Do nothing

5. ________________________________ Other (PROBE)

72/58. Are there any reasons why Blacks can't make it in the corporate world?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

58a. What are some of the reasons? ____________________

____

____

____

59. How do you believe the ghetto riots of the 1960's affected your company's employment policy for Blacks? __________

____

____

____

60. Do you believe that Blacks today are pressing their case too hard?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

60a. Why do you believe this? ____________________

____

____

____

73/70. Are you aware of any carryover into the work situation of negative white attitudes toward Blacks?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

70a. What personal experiences have you had to become aware of this situation? ______________________

____

____

____

71. Do you have any suggestions to further reduce barriers to Black managerial employment? ______________________

____

____

____

PART IV. (WHITE MANAGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS)

Now I am going to read a series of statements you sometimes hear people make. For each statement please tell me your degree of agreement. Please do not bother to take much time with each statement; your first impression is perfectly all right. (SHOW CARD 12)

74/72. A Black, once promoted, could not be demoted, even if inadequate in his new role, without undeserved charges of discrimination.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

75/73. A Black would be accepted by white subordinates only after he had been given unusually difficult challenges in order to prove himself.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

76/74. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Blacks are pretty much alike.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

77/75. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Black.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

78/76. Even though there are some exceptions, most Blacks have annoying and offensive faults.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

I.D. # 1/ ___

2/ ___

3/ ___

4/ ___

Card # 5/2

6/77. Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone else.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

7/78. I probably would not choose a Black person for promotion if an equally qualified non-Black were available.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

8/79. In general, I am reluctant to hire and promote Blacks into important management positions.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

9/80. Most Blacks who aspire to become managers in the business world do not have the personal characteristics needed to become successful management persons in this company.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

10/81. A Black person usually has to be a little better than others to get ahead in this company.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

11/82. In general, this company is only paying lip-service to the idea of equal opportunity employment for Blacks.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

12/83. Management should not be asked to influence social attitudes; its responsibility does not extend into taking public positions regarding civil rights.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

13/84. In general, Blacks have low I.Q.'s and less technical and analytical competence.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

14/85. In general, Blacks are pushy, loud, argumentative, arrogant, obnoxious, and aggressive.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

Now we would like to ask more general questions about your attitude towards Blacks.

87. What are some of the good and bad characteristics you have observed about Black managers? ______________________

____

____

____

____

16/89. Do you hear derogatory remarks about Blacks in your company?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

What has been your response to such remarks:

89a. With your subordinates? ______________________

____

____

89b. With your peers? ______________________

____

____

89c. With your superiors? ____________________

____

____

(ASK NEXT QUESTION ONLY IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR OR DEFINITE PICTURE OF THE MANAGER'S ATTITUDES ABOUT BLACKS)

90. In talking to various persons, we've found that some report less favorable feelings toward Black people than do others. Drawing from your own personal feelings, what is your general impression of Black people? ______

____

____

____

Now we would like to ask you several questions about your personal contacts with Blacks. (SHOW CARD 13)

17/91. How frequently do you have contacts with Blacks on your job?

0. ___ Very frequently
1. ___ Fairly frequently
2. ___ Not very frequently
3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO QUESTION 92)

91a. Would you please elaborate on the type and recency of your contacts. ____________________

____

____

18/92. How frequently do you have contacts with Blacks at social functions not related to work?

0. ___ Very frequently
1. ___ Fairly frequently
2. ___ Not very frequently
3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO THE NEXT SECTION)

92a. Again, would you please elaborate on the type and recency of these social contacts. ____________________

____

____

PART IV. (BLACK MANAGERS' ATTITUDES ABOUT THE BUSINESS WORLD AND THEIR PERSONAL EXPERIENCES)

Now we are going to ask you more specific questions about your attitudes about Black managers and questions about your own personal experiences. (SHOW CARD 12)

19/93. Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone else.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

20/94. A Black person usually has to be a little better than others to get ahead in this company.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

21/95. In general, this company is only paying lip-service to the idea of equal opportunity employment for Blacks.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

95a. Would you give me some reasons for your answer? ______

______

______

22/96. Management should not be asked to influence social attitudes; its responsibility does not extend into taking public positions regarding civil rights.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

23/97. I could hardly imagine myself marrying a white person.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

24/98. Whites are superficially evaluated for promotion while Blacks are carefully and thoroughly evaluated.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

98a. Do you have first hand knowledge to support your answer?

______

______

______

25/99. All that really has changed in the past few years is that corporations have shifted the point at which they begin to apply discriminatory practices against their Black managers. They will hire a Black but will not allow him to realize his full potential.

0. ___ Strongly disagree
1. ___ Disagree
2. ___ Agree
3. ___ Strongly agree

99a. What is your evidence? ______________________________

____

____

____

26/100. Is governmental pressure needed to force industry to really practice equal employment for Blacks?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

100a. What kind of governmental pressure? ____________________

____

____

____

27/101. Is governmental pressure needed to force your company to really practice equal employment for Blacks?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

101a. What kind of governmental pressure? ____________________

102. What incidental pressures must a Black put up with that whites do not have to put up with? (PROBE ABOUT DISCRIMINATION IN FIRM) ____________________

28/103. Would you accept a transfer to a plant located in a small white city or town?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

103a. Could you tell me more about your attitude towards a transfer of that kind? ____________________

29/104. If you hold a position previously held by whites, do you believe you have the same power and authority as the white person had?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF NO)

104a. Why do you believe you do not have the same power and authority? ______________________________

____

____

____

Here is a statement written by a Black Executive Vice President of a white firm. (SHOW CARD 13)

Even those Blacks who are hired for jobs which are not specifically public relations oriented (for example, chemists, accountants, engineers, marketing researchers, data processing systems analysts and lawyers) find that they are expected to spend a good deal of their time "showcasing" for their corporate masters. These Black employees are required to attend numerous public relations type meetings, race relations dinners, and equal employment opportunity-urban affairs conferences, spreading the gospel of their respective companies. In effect, they perform two jobs, one for which they were hired and the other for public relations.

30/105. Do you generally agree or disagree with this statement?

0. ___ agree 1. ___ disagree

105a. Would you please make a few comments about this statement?

____

____

____

31/106. Do you generally agree or disagree with this statement?

(SHOW CARD 14)

Many Black people, especially separatists or Black nationalists, believe that Black people working in corporations are undermining the Black movement toward developing viable Black economic institutions. They say that the corporation physically and psychologically removes Black people from the community; thus, Black people are deprived of the knowledge, technical skill, and expertise of the Black manager.

0. ___ agree 1. ___ disagree

106a. Why do you (AGREE OR DISAGREE)? ____________________

____

____

____

32/107. Have you ever been categorized in the Black community as an Uncle Tom or Sellout, a traitor to Black people and the Black movement in general because of your position in this firm?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

107a. On what occasion? ____________________

____

____

33/108. As a group, what is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country? (SHOW CARD 15)

0. ___ Form their own separate Black nations

1. ___ Withdraw into the urban areas and form separate all-Black communities

2. ___ Form strong social, political, and economic organizations to pressure white society into assuring Blacks equal opportunity and freedom in the larger society

3. ___ Assimilate and integrate completely into white society

4. ____

____________________ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

108a. Why do you believe this is the best path? ____________

____

____

____

109. What advice would you give an individual Black person with regard to the best possible strategy to follow in this society in order to live a prosperous, free life? _____

____

____

____

110. With what segment of the Black community do you have good communications (for example, militant, moderate, revolutionary, etc.)? ______________________________

____

110a. Why do you have good communications with them? ________

____

____

111. With what segments of the Black community do you have poor communications? ______________________________

____

111a. Why do you have poor communications with them? ________

____

____

34/112. Would you advise a young Black man or woman just out of school or college to enter the business world?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF NO)

112a. Why not? ________________________________

____

____

____

(IF YES)

112b. What would you say is the best way for a young Black to achieve high managerial positions? ________________

____

____

____

113. What advice could you give to a Black manager entering your company? ________________________

____

____

____

Now we would like to ask you several questions about your personal contacts with whites. (SHOW CARD 16)

35/114. How frequently do you have contacts with whites on your job?

0. ___ Very frequently
1. ___ Fairly frequently
2. ___ Not very frequently
3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO QUESTION 115)

114a. Would you please elaborate on the type and recency of your contacts. ____
____
____
____

36/115. How frequently do you have contacts with whites at social functions not related to work?

0. ___ Very frequently
1. ___ Fairly frequently
2. ___ Not very frequently
3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO THE NEXT SECTION)

115a. Again, would you please elaborate on the type and recency of these social contacts. ____
____
____
____

PART V. (IMAGE OF A PROMOTABLE MANAGER. TO BE GIVEN TO R TO FILL OUT)

We would like you to complete this chart which has questions which are related to your image of a promotable manager. What is your ideal image of a promotable person (COL. I) and what are your images of the person who actually is ahead in your firm (COL. II) and in business generally (COL. III)?

Please grade EACH ITEM in ALL THREE COLUMNS below, thus:

0 Mark PLUS (+) for items you deem HELPFUL for promotion TO SUPERVISOR AND BEYOND
1 Mark ZERO (0) for items you deem IRRELEVANT for promotion TO SUPERVISOR AND BEYOND
2 Mark MINUS (-) for items you deem HARMFUL for promotion TO SUPERVISOR AND BEYOND

		HOW ITEMS RATE IN MY IDEA OF A PROMOTABLE PERSON		
	ITEMS	A I. Ideally IN MY OPINION	B II. Actually IN MY FIRM	C III. Actually IN BUSINESS GENERALLY
	EDUCATION AND TRAINING			
37/a.	College Education			
38/b.	Graduate Work in Business Administration			
39/c.	Graduate of "Ivy League" College			
40/d.	Technical knowledge of specific job to be done			
41/e.	Seniority			
	PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS			
42/f.	Age: Under 30			
43/g.	Under 45			
44/h.	Over 45			
45/i.	Race: Negro			
46/j.	Oriental			
47/k.	White			
48/l.	Sex: Male			
49/m.	Female			

HOW ITEMS RATE IN MY IDEA OF A PROMOTABLE PERSON

	ITEMS	A I. Ideally IN MY OPINION	B II. Actually IN MY FIRM	C III. Actually IN BUSINESS GENERALLY
50/n.	SOCIAL FACTORS Artistic, cultural interests, wide reading			
51/o.	Community interests and activities			
52/p.	Membership in local country club			
53/q.	National origin: Continental USA			
54/r.	Chicano ✓			
55/s.	Foreign country			
56/t.	"Pull" with top management			
57/u.	Regular attendance at a house of worship			
58/v.	Religion: Catholic			
59/w.	Jewish			
60/x.	Protestant			
61/y.	Spouse who is helpful to career			

PART VI. (COMPANY'S EMPLOYMENT POLICIES)

Section A. Employment Data

62/117. How would you describe your company's growth in the past eleven years?

0. ___ Phenomenal
1. ___ Rapid
2. ___ Moderate
3. ___ Slow
4. ___ Very slow
5. ___ Nil

63/118. How has your total employment changed since 1960?

0. ___ Has increased substantially
1. ___ Has increased slightly
2. ___ Has decreased substantially
3. ___ Has decreased slightly
4. ___ Has been relatively stable
5. ___ Has fluctuated, but with little net change

119. If total employment has changed appreciably in size since 1960, please indicate the main reasons. ________

____

____

____

____

120. We would like to have the position titles, area of work, and salary levels of all your Black executives.

Position Title	Area (Finance, Personnel, etc.)	Salary Level
____________	________________________	______
____________	________________________	______
____________	________________________	______
____________	________________________	______
____________	________________________	______

121. When was the first time that your company hired a Black for a non-managerial position? ____________________ Date

122. When was the first time that your company hired or promoted Blacks into management positions? __________ Date

123. Which departments or divisions are without Black managers?

____

____

____

124. What is the main reason for the absence of Black managers in those departments or divisions? ________________

____

____

____

____

Section B. General Employment Questions

125. Who is in charge of your employment policies?

Name	Position Title
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________

64/126. Does this policy vary from one part of the country to another?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no 2. ___ not applicable

(IF YES)

126a. In what manner and in what part of the U. S. does it vary?

____

____

____

65/127. Is this policy written?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

66/128. Is this policy ever reviewed?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

128a. How frequently? ______________________________

____

____

____

(IF POLICY REVIEWED)

129. Who reviews the policy?

Name	Position Title
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________

130. In the administration of an employment program in your company, what is the usual procedure of policy enforcement?

____

____

____

Section C. Recruiting

67/131. In general, do you recruit at colleges and universities?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

I. D. # 1/ ___

2/ ___

3/ ___

4/ ___

Card # 5/3

6/132. Do you recruit at colleges and/or universities whose students are predominantly members of minority groups?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

132a. Which major universities or colleges? ________________
____

133. When did you start recruiting at the minority colleges/ universities? ______________________________ Date

7/134. Do you attempt to select, as potential managers, applicants with particular majors or courses of study in their educational backgrounds such as business administration, engineering, natural sciences, social sciences or the humanities?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

134a. What majors or courses of study do you favor? ________
____
____

8/135. Do you use employment agencies for recruiting potential managers?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

135a. What are the names of the agencies? ________________
____
____

140. What other recruiting mechanisms do you use to recruit potential managers? ____________________

____

____

____

141. What is the most important and productive managerial recruiting source for your company? ____________

____

____

____

141a. Why is this? ____________________________

____

____

____

142. Do you have any other general remarks concerning your management recruiting methods? ______________

____

____

____

Section D. Training Programs

9/143. Does your company have training programs for managers?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

143a. What type of program and what are the average number of participants?

Type of Program	Average No. of Participants
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________

144. What has been the average number of Blacks in these programs? __________ #

Section E. Promoting and Hiring

145. What % of your vacancies are filled from within? ________ %

9/146. Does your company use tests to help determine which people are hired for managerial positions?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

146a. What types of tests are used? (i.e., psychological, aptitude, etc) ______________________________

____

____

10/147. Does your company use tests to help determine which managers are promoted?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

147a. What types of tests are used? (i.e., psychological, aptitude, etc.) ____________________

____

____

11/148. Is a manager's racial attitude a factor in promotion?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

148a. Why do you believe this is so? ____________________

____

____

____

PART VII. (EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM)

12/150. Has any municipal, state, or federal agency contacted your company to review your practices with respect to minority employment?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

150a. In what manner? ____________________________

____

13/151. Has your company been the target for any picketing, selective buying campaigns, etc., with the purpose of forcing your company to change its employment policy towards Blacks?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

151a. Could you give me more details as to the date, nature, length of time, etc.? ________________________

____

____

____

14/152. Does your company have an active policy of encouraging their managers to involve themselves in Black community affairs?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

15/153. Did your company participate in the Plans for Progress Program?

0. ____ yes 1. ____ no

(IF YES)

153a. When did it become a member? ____________________ Date

16/154. Is your company a member of the National Alliance of Businessmen?

0. ____ yes 1. ____ no

(IF YES)

154a. When did it become a member? ____________________ Date

17/155. Do you require people or firms you deal with to have an equal employment policy orientation?

0. ____ yes 1. ____ no

155a. Why is this? ____

____

____

____

(IF ANSWER TO QUESTION 155 IS YES)

155b. How do you know the company or people are actually following an EEO Program? ________________________________

____

____

____

156. In January 1970, Secretary of Labor, George P. Schultz, amended Title 41 of the Code of Federal Regulations, to require each firm with fifty or more employees and a contract of $50,000 or more to submit a written Affirmative Action Compliance Program. When did your company first implement is Affirmative Action Program? (NOTE: IT COULD BE BEFORE JANUARY 1970) ________________ Date

157. If your program was developed before January 1970, were there any special circumstances that led to the Equal Employment Opportunities Program? ____________________

____

____

____

158. Who are the people in the corporate headquarters primarily responsible for the administration of your EEO Program?

Name	Position

18/159. Does the top administrator of the program report to a higher authority?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

159a. What is the title and department of the higher authority?

____

19/160. Does more than one department share responsibility for the program?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

160a. What departments? ______________________________

____

20/161. Are there any special formal procedures used to check the enforcement of your EEO Program?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

161a. What are they? ______________________________

____

____

21/162. Are there any informal procedures used by corporate headquarters to check compliance in the divisions? (i.e., telephone conversations, informal chats, etc.)

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

162a. Would you be more specific about the informal procedures?

____

____

____

162b. How frequently are these informal checks made? ________

____

22/164. Is setting targets an essential element in an affirmative action program (EEO)?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

164a. Would you please explain your answer? ____________

____

____

____

23/165. Have any of the procedures that you developed initially in implementing your EEO Program been modified since that time?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

165a. For each change, can you indicate the type of change, the approximate date of change, and the major considerations that led to the change?

	Type of Change	Date
1.	______________	______
2.	______________	______
3.	______________	______
4.	______________	______
5.	______________	______
6.	______________	______

Major Considerations

1. ______________________________

____

2. ____

____

3. ____

____

4. ____

____

5. ____

____

6. ____

____

166. Which one of the following would be considered a major, good, minor, or no measure of success by your company in a program of equal employment opportunity?

		0 MAJOR MEASURE	1 GOOD MEASURE	2 MINOR MEASURE	3 NO MEASURE
24/a.	Number of Black employees in relation to the number of Blacks in the community	____	____	____	____
25/b.	Distribution of Blacks through job classifications	____	____	____	____
26/c.	The income level of the Blacks in the company	____	____	____	____
27/d.	The visibility of Blacks in company jobs	____	____	____	____
28/e.	Job mobility of Blacks in the company	____	____	____	____
29/f.	The presence of Black employees in the management, technical, or supervisory levels of the company	____	____	____	____

R

		0 MAJOR MEASURE	1 GOOD MEASURE	2 MINOR MEASURE	3 NO MEASURE
30/g.	The number of entry jobs that have been filled by Blacks	____	____	____	____
31/h.	____________________ ____________________ ____________________ ______ Other (SPECIFY)	____	____	____	____

167. What problems did you anticipate prior to the adoption of these minority group employment practices to be major, some, minor, or no problem in your firm?

		0 MAJOR PROBLEM	1 SOME PROBLEM	2 MINOR PROBLEM	3 NO PROBLEM
32/a.	Resistance by white workers	____	____	____	____
33/b.	Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	____	____	____	____
34/c.	Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	____	____	____	____
35/d.	Community opposition	____	____	____	____
36/e.	Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	____	____	____	____
37/f.	Resistance by supervisors	____	____	____	____
38/g.	Resistance by executives	____	____	____	____

		0 MAJOR PROBLEM	1 SOME PROBLEM	2 MINOR PROBLEM	3 NO PROBLEM
39/h.	Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	____	____	____	____
40/i.	____________________				
	________ Other (SPECIFY)	____	____	____	____

168. Looking back since the development of your EEO Program, which of these problems, if any, did occur? Again, please rate them according to major, some, minor, or no problem.

		0 MAJOR PROBLEM	1 SOME PROBLEM	2 MINOR PROBLEM	3 NO PROBLEM
41/a.	Resistance by white workers	____	____	____	____
42/b.	Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	____	____	____	____
43/c.	Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	____	____	____	____
44/d.	Community opposition	____	____	____	____
45/e.	Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	____	____	____	____
46/f.	Resistance by supervisors	____	____	____	____
47/g.	Resistance by executives	____	____	____	____
48/h.	Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	____	____	____	____
49/i.	____________________ ____________________				
	________ Other (SPECIFY)	____	____	____	____

169. Looking back on your own experiences with a non-discriminatory policy, what advice would you give a company that was just beginning to hire Blacks for managerial positions, especially advice in the area of employment and policy procedures? ______________________

____

____

____

____

PART VIII. (PERSONAL BACKGROUND)

Now just a few more minutes on some questions about your personal background and we'll be through.

170. First, what is your date of birth? ____________________
Mo. Day Year

171. In what state did you live most of the time you were growing up--until you were about eighteen years old?

____________________ State

____________________ Other country (SPECIFY)

172. In what state have you lived most of your adult life?

____________________ State

____________________ Other country (SPECIFY)

173. Would you please tell me what city or town you live in?

____________________ Name

52/173. Do Blacks live in your neighborhood?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

173b. About what % of Blacks live in your neighborhood? _____ %

53/174. What is your present marital status?

0. ___ Single

1. ___ Married

2. ___ Divorced

3. ___ Widowed

4. ___ Separated

(IF MARRIED)

54/175. Does your spouse work?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

175a. What is your spouse's occupation? ________________

175b. What is the name of the firm or organization that he/she is working for? ________________________

175c. Number of hours per wekk? ________________

55/176. What was the highest grade of school or college you completed? (CIRCLE ONE)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4 or less	5-8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

High School College

Graduate Training

(IF 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE OR MORE)

176a. What college degrees do you have? (RECORD COL. I)

176b. What was your major field? (RECORD COL. II)

176c. What was the name of the institution you received it from? (RECORD COL. III)

I Degree(s)	II Major Field	III Institution(s)

56/178. Did you ever take any special courses or formal training--things like trade school, business school, a correspondence course, or a job training program?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

178a. What type of training? (RECORD COL. I)

178b. How long was the training? (RECORD COL. II)

178c. Where did you obtain the training? (RECORD COL. III)

I Type of Training	II Length	III Place of Training
___	___	___
___	___	___
___	___	___
___	___	___

57/179. How necessary is your scientific, technical, or professional training in your present position?

0. ___ Not very necessary

1. ___ Very necessary

2. ___ Absolutely necessary

3. ___ I have no such training

58/180. Is there any formal scientific, technical, or professional training you lack which you feel would be especially helpful in your position?

0. ___ yes 1. ___ no

(IF YES)

180a. What type of training? ______________________________

____

____

59/181. What was the highest grade of school or college your spouse completed? (CIRCLE ONE)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4 or less	5-8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
		High School				College			

Graduate Training

(IF 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE OR MORE)

181a. What college degrees did she/he receive? (RECORD COL. I)

181b. What was her/his major field? (RECORD COL. II)

181c. What was the name of the institution she/he received it from? (RECORD COL. III)

I Degree(s)	II Major Field	III Institution(s)

60/182. How many years of school did your father complete? (CIRCLE ONE)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4 or less	5-8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
		High School				College			

Graduate Training

61/183. How many years of school did your mother complete?

(CIRCLE ONE)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

4 or less 5-8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

High School College

Graduate Training

184. When you were a teenager what was the best job your father had? (BE SPECIFIC) ______________________________

185. When your spouse was a teenager what was the best job his/her father had? (BE SPECIFIC) ____________________

62/186. What is your religious preference?

0. ___ Catholic
1. __________________________Protestant (SPECIFY DENOMINATION)
2. ___ Jewish
3. __________________________Other (SPECIFY)

63/187. Approximately how frequently do you attend religious services?

0. ___ More than once a week
1. ___ Once a week
2. ___ Once or twice a month
3. ___ A few times a year
4. ___ Never

66/188. Politically do you consider yourself a:

0. ___ Radical
1. ___ Liberal
2. ___ Moderate
3. ___ Conservative
4. ___ Right winger
5. ________________________ Other (SPECIFY)

67/189. What is your political affiliation?

0. ___ Democrat
1. ___ Republican
2. ___ Independent
3. ________________________ Other (SPECIFY)
4. ___ No interest in politics

68-69/190. Now here is a list of clubs and organizations that many people belong to. Please look at this list (SHOW CARD 17), and tell me which of these kinds of organizations you belong to, if any. (CHECK BELOW)

68/0. ___ Church-Connected Groups
1. ___ Fraternal Organizations or Lodges
2. ___ Veteran's Organizations
3. ___ Business or Civic Groups, Service Clubs
4. ___ Neighborhood Clubs or Community Centers
5. ___ Organizations of People of the Same Race and/or Nationality

6. ___ Civil Rights Organizations (NAACP, CORE, Urban League, Black Panthers, etc.)
7. ___ Country Clubs
8. ___ Professional Groups
9. ___ Political Clubs or Organizations
69/0. ___ Social Clubs
1. ___ Charitable and Welfare Organizations
2. ________________________ Other (SPECIFY)
3. ___ None

(IF INTERVIEWEE BELONGS TO NO ORGANIZATIONS, THE INTERVIEW IS OVER. QUESTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE ASKED OF EACH GROUP R IS IN. REPEAT QUESTIONS FOR EACH ORGANIZATION UNTIL ALL ARE COVERED.)

191. What is the name of (TYPE OF GROUP)? (IF NOT CLEAR: as you see it, what are the main things it does?)				
192. What year did you join?				
193. Would you say you are strongly interested in this group, somewhat interested, or not very interested in it?				
194. Why do you feel this way?				
195a. (FOR WHITES ONLY) Are there any Black members?				
195b. (FOR BLACKS ONLY) Are there any white members?				

INTERVIEWER DATA EVALUATION FORM (TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE INTERVIEW)

69/197. Racial background of interviewee:

1. ___ Black Male
2. ___ Black Female
3. ___ White Male
4. ___ White Female

70/198. Is this interview of questionable value, generally adequate, or high quality?

0. ___ Questionable
1. ___ Generally adequate
2. ___ High quality

(IF QUESTIONABLE)

71/198a. Why? (CHECK EACH WHICH APPLIES TO RESPONDENT)

0. ___ Evasive, suspicious
1. ___ Confused by frequent interruptions
2. ___ Confused--didn't understand questions
3. _______ _________________ Other (SPECIFY)

72/199. How was rapport with R?

0. ___ Excellent throughout
1. ___ Average
2. ___ Poor throughout
3. ___ Started good, became poor
4. ___ Started poor, became good

73/200. What was R's interest in the interview?

0. ___ High

1. ___ Average

2. ___ Low

201. Was there any indication that length of interview affected rapport? ______________________

____

202. What was the interview setting? ______________

____

203. Who else was present during the interview, and what effect did this have?

___ Only R Present

Persons Present	How Long	What Effect

APPENDIX B

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF RELEVANT TABLES

1. In what state did you live most of the time you were growing up--until you were about eighteen years old?

	Black Managers	White Managers
CALIFORNIA	22 %	50 %
NEW ENGLAND STATES: Mass., R.I., Conn., Vt., N.H., Maine	3	5
NORTHEASTERN STATES: N.Y., N.J., Pa., Ohio	11	14
MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES: Va., W. Va., Del., Md., Wash. D.C.	5	3
SOUTHEASTERN STATES: Tenn., N.C., S.C., Ga., Ala., Florida	12	1
CENTRAL STATES: Wis., Mich., Ill., Ind., Ky.	11	5
NORTH CENTRAL: N.D., S.D., Minn.	0	0
PRAIRIE STATES: Neb., Iowa, Mo., Kansas	6	3
SOUTH CENTRAL: Okla., Ark., La., Miss., Texas	21	2
MOUNTAIN STATES: Idaho., Mont., Wyo., Utah, Nev., Colo.	2	2
SOUTHWESTERN STATES: Ariz., N. Mexico	1	5
NORTHWESTERN STATES: Oregon, Wash.	1	2
OTHER	5	2

2. In what state have you lived most of your adult life?

	Black Managers	White Managers
CALIFORNIA	65 %	88 %
NEW ENGLAND STATES: Mass., R.I., Conn., Vt., N.H., Maine	3	3
NORTHEASTERN STATES: N.Y., N.J., Pa., Ohio	5	1
MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES: Va., W. Va., Del., Md., Wash. D.C.	3	1
SOUTHEASTERN STATES: Tenn., N.C., S.C., Ga., Ala., Florida	3	0
CENTRAL STATES: Wis., Mich., Ill., Ind., Ky.	5	5
NORTH CENTRAL: N.D., S.D., Minn.	0	1
PRAIRIE STATES: Neb., Iowa., Mo., Kansas	2	0
SOUTH CENTRAL: Okla., Ark., La., Miss., Texas	2	0
MOUNTAIN STATES: Idaho, Mont., Wyo., Utah, Nev., Colo.	1	1
SOUTHWESTERN STATES: Oregon, Wash.	0	1
OTHER	10	9

3. What college degrees do you have?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Bachelors Degrees	67 %	50 %
Bachelors and at least 1 year of Graduate Work completed	1	6
Bachelors and Teaching Credentials	1	2

	Black Managers	White Managers
Bachelors and Masters	17 %	20 %
Bachelors and BMA	7	13
Bachelors and Law Degree	6	5
Bachelors, MBA, and Law Degree	0	1
Bachelors, Masters, and Ph.D.	0	2

4. What was your major field?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Business Administration	24 %	34 %
Engineering: Mechanical, Industrial, Electrical, Civil	10	21
Accounting	10	5
Sociology, Anthropology	9	6
Political Science, History	7	8
Law	6	6
Chemistry	6	1
Math	6	1
Economics	4	14
Social Sciences	4	4
Education	4	2
English, Speech, Journalism	3	6
Biology, Zoology	3	2
Philosophy	3	2
Art, Music Drama	3	1

	Black Managers	White Managers
Home Economics	3 %	0 %
Psychology	1	7
Religion	1	1
Other	3	0

5. What was the name of the institution you received degree(s) from?

	Black Managers	White Managers
IVY LEAGUE SCHOOLS: Harvard, Dartmouth, Columbia, Cornell, Univ. of Pennsylvania	1 %	7 %
SELECT PROVIATE UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: Univ. of Chicago, Smith, Occidental, Claremont, Rutgers, Stanford, MIT, New York Univ., Northwestern	3	13
SELECT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: U.C. Berkeley, Univ. of Michigan, Univ. of Wisconsin, UCLA	7	31
SELECT BLACK UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: Lincoln Univ., Hampton Institute, Tuskeegee, Morehouse, Fisk, Howard, Morgan State	21	0
OTHER PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: Washington Lee, Univ. of Pacific, Purdue, Whittier, U.S.C., Suffolk Univ., Univ. of Pugeout Sound, Golden Gate College, Geneva College, Sul Ross College, Miami of Ohio, Williams College	21	16
OTHER PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES: Ohio Univ., Univ. of Colorado, Univ. of Okla., Univ. of Pittsburgh, Univ. of Md., Arizona Univ., Univ. of Iowa	8	20

	Black Managers	White Managers
STATE COLLEGES: Cal. State, L.A., Long Beach, Hayward, San Jose, San Francisco State, Sacramento State, Penn State, S. Carolina State, Weber State, Arizona State, Washington State, Oregon State, Florida State	28 %	22 %
OTHER BLACK UNIVERSITIES/COLLEGES: Prairie View College, Wiley College, Grambling, Southern Univ., Toogaloo College, Texas Southern Univ.	14	0
PRIVATE RELIGIOUS COLLEGES: Loyola of Chicago, U.S.F., Providence College, S.F. College for Women, St. Mary's, Boston College, St. Peter's College	7	14
OTHER UNIVERSITIES/COLLEGES: Pasadena School of the Playhouse, Univ. of Hicdelberg	0	2
JUNIOR COLLEGES: Compton Jr. College, Santa Rosa, City College of S.F.	3	2

6. What is your present marital status?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Single	11 %	11 %
Married	74	82
Divorced	13	5
Widowed	0	1
Separated	2	1

7. What was the highest grade of school or college your spouse completed?

	Black Managers	White Managers
8 or Less	0 %	1 %
9 Years	0	0
10 "	1	0
11 "	1	2
12 "	31	38
13 "	17	10
14 "	21	18
15 "	5	8
16 "	24	25
16 + "	0	0

8. When your spouse was a teenager what was the best job his/her father had?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Unskilled Laborer	18 %	10 %
Skilled Laborer	17	18
Small Business Owner	6	15
Medium Business Owner	2	2
Low Level Supervisor/Manager	0	4
Middle Level Supervisor/Manager	1	6
Upper Level Supervisor/Manager	0	2

	Black Managers	White Managers
Professional: Engineers, Real Estate, Accountant, Publisher/ Editor, Statistician	2 %	14 %
Lawyer or Doctor	0	4
Clergyman	1	0
School Principal or Professor	6	2
School Teacher or Counselor	3	1
Governmental Service	13	8
Farmer of Own Large Farm	1	1
Farmer of Own Small Farm	1	1
Doesn't know	21	3
Didn't Have a Father	6	2
Other	1	2

9. Which one of the following would be considered a major, good, minor, or no measure of success by your company in a program of equal employment opportunity?

	MAJOR MEASURE		GOOD MEASURE		MINOR MEASURE		NO MEASURE	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Number of Black employees in relation to the number of Blacks in the community	4	4	1	3	1	1	0	0
Distribution of Blacks through job classifications	5	5	1	2	0	1	0	0
Income level of the Blacks in the company	4	1	2	3	0	4	0	0

	MAJOR MEASURE		GOOD MEASURE		MINOR MEASURE		NO MEASURE	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs
Visibility of Blacks in company jobs	1	0	1	2	3	5	1	1
Job mobility of Blacks in company	3	3	3	2	0	3	0	0
Presence of Black employees in the management, technical, or supervisory levels of company	5	3	1	3	0	2	0	0
Number of entry level jobs that have been filled by Blacks	1	4	1	3	2	1	2	0

10. What problems did you anticipate prior to the adoption of these minority group employment practices to be major, some, minor, or no problem in your firm?

	MAJOR PROBLEM		SOME PROBLEM		MINOR PROBLEM		NO PROBLEM	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Resistance by white workers	2	2	4	3	0	1	0	1
Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	2	1	4	3	0	4	0	0
Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	0	0	2	0	3	4	1	4
Community opposition	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	7
Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	2	0	1	1	2	1	1	6

	MAJOR PROBLEM		SOME PROBLEM		MINOR PROBLEM		NO PROBLEM	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Resistance by supervisors	2	1	4	3	0	3	0	1
Resistance by executives	1	0	5	1	0	4	0	3
Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	0	0	6	4	0	4	0	0

11. Looking back since the development of your EEO Program, which of these problems, if any, did occur? Again, please rate them according to major, some, minor, or no problem.

	MAJOR PROBLEM		SOME PROBLEM		MINOR PROBLEM		NO PROBLEM	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Resistance by white workers	0	1	4	4	2	1	0	2
Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	1	1	2	5	2	1	1	1
Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	0	0	0	1	3	2	3	5
Community opposition	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	7
Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	0	0	0	0	4	2	2	6
Resistance by supervisors	1	1	3	3	2	2	0	2
Resistance by executives	0	0	4	1	1	2	1	5
Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	0	1	3	3	2	4	1	0

11. At what managerial level (lower, middle, or upper) do you believe your company's Equal Employment Opportunity Program meets the most resistance?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Lower Management	25 %	36 %
Middle Management	37	19
Upper Management	42	18
No Resistance	2	22
All Levels	5	3
Resistance is Individual	0	3
Don't know	1	5

11A. Why resistance is most at Lower Level.

	Black Managers	White Managers
There are many more Blacks competing with whites at the lower level; therefore, the whites feel more threatened, fear Blacks more, and become more antagonistic toward Blacks than middle and upper level white managers.	67	59
Because of the relatively low level of education of the individuals. Lower management is the least enlightened management level which leads to greater racial hatreds.	23	32
It is hard to communicate and obtain the acceptance of the AAP by the lower level of management.	7	18
The middle and upper levels of management are not threatened because there are few, if any, Black managers at those levels; however, they will begin to resist the AAP when Blacks begin to compete with them.	7	7

11B. Why resistance is most at Middle Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
Middle management is the most prejudiced managerial level because most of the white managers have leveled off in their careers; thus, they are concerned with protecting their positions from Black managers who could displace them; there are relatively fewer middle management positions; thus, this level fears Black competition more than the other levels.	35 %	17 %
The paucity of Black managers in the middle level indicates that it is at this level that Blacks meet the most resistance.	30	13
Middle management is older, more conservative, and has more rigid attitudes than other levels; therefore, they are least likely to accept change in the area of equal employment opportunities.	21	53
Middle management distorts the company's AAP because upper management does not insure that it is being properly carried out.	9	7
Individuals in the upper level of management are alert, receptive, and innovative and the individuals in the lower level of management are younger and feel less threatened; therefore, the middle level of management is the level at which Blacks meet the most resistance.	5	10

11C. Why resistance is most at Upper Level.

	Black Managers	White Managers
The fact that there are no Blacks in upper management suggests that it is at this level where Blacks meet the most resistance.	29 %	24 %
Upper management does not want Blacks to have real power to make policy decisions.	24	14
Upper management is really not committed to a non-discriminatory employment policy.	12	14
Blacks are at a disadvantage because subjective criteria and politics play a greater role for the few upper management positions; Blacks are not acceptable at this level because social discourse and interaction play a very important role.	10	14
Upper management is generally older, more conservative, and more rigid in their attitudes than lower and middle management; thus, they are more racist.	8	10
There are extremely few upper management positions; thus, the great competition for these positions brings out the white racist attitudes.	6	7
Other	10	17

12. Length of total service with present company.

	Black Managers	White Managers
0 - 2 years	17 %	4 %
2(+) - 4 years	28	5
4(+) - 6 years	16	6

	Black Managers	White Managers
6(+) - 8 years	15 %	5 %
8(+) - 10 years	8	7
10(+) - 12 years	3	11
12(+) - 14 years	5	7
14(+) - 16 years	6	11
16(+) - 18 years	2	6
18(+) - 20 years	1	5
20(+) - 22 years	1	7
22(+) - 24 years	0	4
24(+) - 26 years	0	10
26(+) - 28 years	0	5
28(+) - 30 years	0	3
30(+) - 32 years	0	2
32(+) - 34 years	0	1
Over 34 years	0	4

13. Do you directly control a budget in your present position?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Controls a budget	14 %	54 %
Does not control a budget	86	46

14. How many people are directly under your supervision?

	Black Managers	White Managers
0	31 %	13 %
1 - 5	33	19
6 - 30	24	28
31 - 80	8	13
81 - 180	3	9
181 - 380	1	7
381 - 780	0	5
781 - 1580	0	3
Over 1580	0	4

15. All that really has changed in the past few years is that corporations have shifted the point at which they begin to apply discriminatory practices against their Black managers. They will hire a Black but will not allow him to realize his full potential.

	Black Managers
Strongly disagree	3 %
Disagree	28
Agree	48
Strongly agree	22
Other	1

15A. What is your evidence? (Strongly disagree; Disagree)

	Black Managers
Respondent's personal experiences	24 %
This company has a firm commitment to an AAP.	15

	Black Managers
Respondent cannot really agree with the statement because most companies are only in the first stages of an Affirmative Action Program; the progress of Blacks cannot be measured yet.	15 %
There has been some change, but not a substantial change; corporations need to make greater efforts.	12
Respondent knows of Blacks above him/her at the present time and/or Blacks who have been promoted.	9
Most corporations only want Blacks as show pieces or token niggers, but there are a few who are not.	9
Most corporations have a firm commitment to equal employment opportunities.	6
Other	12

15B. What is your evidence? (Agree; Strongly agree)

	Black Managers
Respondent personally knows of Blacks in the company who are qualified to be at higher levels, but are not promoted.	21 %
Respondent's personal experiences.	15
Most corporations still practice discrimination.	12
No evidence; just a general feeling.	10
Most corporations put limits on Blacks by keeping them in a Black "bag" and limiting their power.	7

	Black Managers
Respondent believes that the company should have Blacks at higher levels.	7 %
Respondent knows of cases where Blacks were promoted only to a certain level but not higher, even though they were qualified, because the company felt it was not the "right" time.	6
Tokenism; companies promote only a few Blacks for show.	5
Corporations are not ready to employ Blacks at high levels of management.	4
Other	6

16. How much influence do you feel you have over the hiring and promoting policies that affect this department and/or division?

	Black Managers	White Managers
A very great deal	12 %	34 %
A great deal	22	33
A little	29	24
No influence	35	7
Other	3	2

17. If you hold a position previously held by whites, do you believe you have the same power and authority as the white person had?

	Black Managers
Yes	68 %
No	32

17A. Why do you believe you do not have the same power and authority?

	Black Managers
Respondents are always being checked on; they are not given the same power, authority, and latitutde that whites are given.	46 %
Respondents feel they have to prove themselves before they are given the power and authority, whereas whites are given them immediately.	41
Whites do not accept Blacks' mental reasoning ability; they feel Blacks are mentally inferior.	14
Whites are unable to relate to Blacks; they bypass them and go to their superiors.	11
Respondents have not had many opportunities to exercise their power and authority so they can't answer the question specifically.	5
Respondents' hiring power has been limited; they feel they should have more authority to say who is going to work for them.	3
White customers won't accept Blacks with a great deal of power	3
Respondents feel they might have the same power, but just being Black makes them paranoid.	3

17. Even those Blacks who are hired for jobs which are not specifically public relations oriented (for example, chemists, accountants, engineers, marketing researchers, data processing systems analysts and lawyers) find that they are expected to spend a good deal of their time "showcasing" for their corporate masters. These Black employees are required to attend numberous public relations type meetings, race relations dinners, and equal employment opportunity-urban affairs conferences, spreading the gospel of their respective companies.

In effect, they perform two jobs, one for which they were hired and the other for public relations.

Do you generally agree or disagree with this statement?

	Black Managers
Agree	78 %
Disagree	22
Doesn't know	0

17A. Would you please make a few comments about this statement? (Agree responses)

	Black Managers
Respondents' personal experiences where they have done what the firms asked such as attend meetings, dinners and conferences, give speeches, and have their pictures taken.	24 %
Companies need to improve their image with the public so they encourage Blacks to showcase.	21
Respondents have not been asked to perform public relations functions, but they do know of people in the firm who do perform these functions.	16
Respondents have been asked to attend conferences, give speeches to Black groups, etc., but they would not do it.	13
Firms show-boat their Blacks because of governmental pressures.	12
Respondents know that it does not happen in their firms, but know of cases in other firms.	6
All management positions are in effect public relations positions.	6

	Black Managers
It is a good thing, if it is actually showing what the company is doing, but it is bad, if the company isn't really doing anything.	4
Other	7

17B. Would you please make a few comments about this statement? (Disagree responses)

	Black Managers
Respondents have not experienced that kind of a situation in their companies.	57 %
It is not required, but the company would like Blacks to go along with their requests to attend conferences, make speeches, etc.	11
For the most part companies are interested in work efficiency; if they wanted a public relations person, they would hire a Black to perform the functions.	7
Respondents think it is good to let people know what's happening on a voluntary basis.	7
Other	18

19. What advice could you give to a Black manager entering your company?

	Black Managers
Blacks should stand up for what they believe is right; be their own men; Blacks should be themselves.	38 %
Blacks should be wary of corporate politics and play along with them.	26

	Black Managers
Blacks should always work hard at whatever they are doing and do it well.	24 %
Blacks should pursue an education--they should get the best education available.	24
Respondent would give no advice.	16
Blacks should promote themselves, i.e., they should get to know their supervisors and let them know their goals, aspirations, and feelings about their job situation; they should use their personal initiative; they should be aggressive.	12
Blacks should watch their backs, be skeptical and careful.	8
Blacks should stay abreast of corporate and business happenings and developments.	7
Blacks should be aware that they have to do their jobs better than the white man.	6
Blacks should forget about their color; they should not be color conscious.	2
Other	12

20. Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Yes	67 %	26 %
No	33	74

20A. What is the evidence? (Yes responses)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Respondent believes the Blacks are screened and investigated much more carefully than whites; Blacks are given more tests (written or on-the-job) and are observed more than whites.	22 %	7 %
Black managers' personal experiences.	20	0
Respondent's knowledge of qualified and deserving Blacks being held back while less qualified and less deserving whites are promoted over them.	19	2
No evidence; just a feeling.	15	12
There are only a few Blacks above low level managerial positions.	9	2
Respondent believes that only the "right" type of Black is promoted, i.e., Blacks who do not speak out, who are not too militant and not too aggressive.	4	0
Blacks have a much higher success record than whites.	3	29
The firm is more careful in promoting Blacks because it would be a big disservice to Blacks and to the company to promote a Black who could not do the job.	1	15
White managers' personal involvements or first hand knowledge that the company is more careful with Black employees than with white employees.	0	20
Other	8	18

20B. What is the evidence? (No responses)

	Black Managers	White Managers
No evidence; just a feeling.	28 %	17 %
Everyone is promoted on the same basis.	19	39
Blacks are promoted as a matter of convenience to governmental and outside social pressures.	14	6
The company had such a practice several years ago, but now it does not.	8	2
If everything is equal, Blacks are given the advantage over whites; the company's policy is just the opposite--it is less careful in promoting Blacks than whites.	6	30
Respondent's personal experiences.	5	0
Other	19	7

21. In your company, how far up the executive ladder do you believe a Black can go?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Lower Management Level	17 %	3 %
Middle Management Level	44	17
Upper Management Level	26	30
Top; President; All the way; No limit	10	47
Doesn't know	2	3

21A. Why is this? - Lower Management Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
The company is not committed to an AAP; therefore, its employment policies are still discriminatory.	45 %	80 %
There aren't any Blacks above the lower level because the firm is only practicing tokenism because of governmental pressures and laws.	28	0
The lack of Blacks above the lower level indicates that Blacks can only go this far.	14	0
Whites do not want Blacks to have a great deal of power; thus, they will not promote Blacks above the lower managerial level.	9	20
Other	14	0

21B. Why is this? - Middle Management Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
The company has unfair employment policies for Blacks; thus, middle management is the limit; the company will promote a few Blacks to middle management as a token gesture because of governmental and social pressures.	32 %	4 %
The company is not ready to accept Blacks socially and to give Blacks a great deal of power, thus, middle management is the limit.	32	26
Blacks have only been with the company for a short period of time; therefore, they don't have the qualifications needed for higher managerial positions.	16	37

	Black Managers	White Managers
Respondent has not seen Blacks above this level and those at this level are few.	10 %	7 %
The company has an effective AAP, i.e., fair hiring and promotional policies for all managers.	2	15
Other	2	2

21C. Why is this? - Upper Management Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
Blacks can make it to the lower level of upper management because of an acceptance of the gradual change, but they can't make it to senior upper level positions because attitudes haven't changed that much.	33 %	20 %
The "right" Black (not militant, outspoken or aggressive, but a super-nigger) can make it to upper management; a few Blacks can make it to the upper level of management so that the firm can say, "Look what we did," i.e., tokenism and showcasing.	27	13
The company has an effective AAP, i.e., fair hiring and promotional policies for all managers.	20	39
Blacks can make it to the upper level of management, but not to extremely senior positions because of the few number of positions available at that level which require proven loyalty, experience, and dedication to the firm.	7	11

	Black Managers	White Managers
Because Blacks are not considered social equals they can't make it to extremely senior positions because social intercourse becomes very important at this level.	7 %	0 %
Blacks can make it to the upper level of management, but not to the Presidency because of opposition from the stockholders, or Board of Directors, or some customers with large accounts, or any combination.	3	13
Blacks can make it to the upper level of management because they have the ability, intelligence, and knowledge to do so.	3	4

21D. Why is this? - President	Black Managers	White Managers
The company has an effective AAP, i.e., fair hiring and promotional policies for all managers.	39 %	93 %
Blacks can go to the top, even the Presidency, because they have the ability, intelligence and knowledge.	39	1
Blacks can make it if they are super-niggers; Blacks must be much better than whites.	15	1
Social and governmental pressures combined with the success of Blacks makes it possible for Blacks to reach the top level; the present trend in social pressures is toward having Blacks; therefore, they have unlimited opportunities.	8	3
Other	8	0

22. Which of the remaining things on the card is second in importance?

	Black Managers	White Managers
The work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment.	26 %	17 %
High income.	23	14
The work is interesting.	21	37
Chances for advancement.	19	21
The work gives lots of chances to meet people.	6	6
No danger of being fired; security.	3	3
Lots of free time.	3	3

22A. Which of the remaining things on the card would be of least importance to you?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Lots of free time.	53 %	55 %
No danger of being fired; security.	28	30
The work gives lots of chances to meet people.	11	11
High income.	6	3
Chances for advancement.	3	2
Other	0	1

23. Many companies indicate that they want to do the "right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (First right thing)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	22 %	41 %

	Black Managers	White Managers
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	50 %	44 %
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	9	1
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	12	11
Do nothing.	0	0
Other	7	4

23A. Many companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (Second right thing)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	13 %	10 %
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	22	20
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	6	5
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	32	22

23B. Many companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (Third right thing)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	10 %	6 %
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	9	5

	Black Managers	White Managers
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	9 %	8 %
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	14	11

24. Would you advise a young Black man or woman just out of school or college to enter the business world?

	Black Managers
Yes	96 %
No	4

24A. What would you say is the best way for young Blacks to achieve high managerial positions?

	Black Managers
Blacks should always work hard at whatever they are doing and do it well; Blacks must be better than whites.	38 %
Blacks should set priorities and goals, then vigorously pursue them; Blacks should always strive for more and not be complacent and satisfied--they should use their personal initiative and be aggressive.	22
Blacks should obtain degrees in business, law, etc.	18
Blacks should become well-educated and develop their skills.	18
Blacks should not allow whites to deal unfairly with them; Blacks should realize what is expected of them without losing their identity.	11

	Black Managers
Learn the rules of the game and play them.	11 %
Blacks should select large, progressive, liberal companies.	7
Blacks should know and stay abreast of their business.	5
Blacks should set up their own companies--they should be self-employed.	4
Blacks should learn their limits and abilities.	2
Doesn't know	6
Other	10

APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLES

ALL MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Race & Sex = Independent Variables

Independent Variables Race & Sex	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean $\bar{X}$	Standard Deviation
Black Males	93	4.032	1.820
Black Females	23	2.696	1.329
White Males	133	8.489	4.584
White Females	23	4.478	3.160
Total	272	6.136	4.217

Total Sum of Squares = 4819

Between Means Sums of Squares = 1483

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 3336

ETA = .55 for Four Groups

ETA Squared = .31

F (3268) = 39710

Salary Code

00 = Under $5,999
01 = $6,000 - $7,999
02 = $8,000 - $9,999
03 = $10,000 - $11,999
04 = $12,000 - $13,999
05 = $14,000 - $15,999
06 = $16,000 - $17,999
07 = $18,000 - $19,999
08 = $20,000 - $21,999
09 = $22,000 - $23,999
10 = $24,000 - $25,999
11 = $26,000 - $27,999
12 = $28,000 - $29,999
13 = $30,000 - $31,999
14 = $32,000 - $33,999
15 = $34,000 - $35,999
16 = $36,000 - $37,999
17 = $38,000 - $39,999
18 = $40,000 - $41,999
19 = Over $42,000

BLACK MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Job Duration = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Job Duration	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
0-2 Years	20	3.250	2.337
2(+) - 4	32	3.719	1.486
4(+) - 6	18	3.500	1.689
6(+) - 8	17	3.941	2.015
8(+) - 10	9	3.444	.726
10(+) - 12	3	4.000	1.000
12(+) - 14	6	4.500	1.761
14(+) - 16	7	4.429	2.507
16(+) - 18	2	6.500	.707
18(+) - 20	1	5.000	0.000
20(+) - 22	1	4.000	0.000
Total	114	3.754	1.822

Total Sum of Squares = 375

Between Means Sums of Squares = 30

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 346

ETA = .28 for Nine Groups

ETA Squared = .08

F (8105) = 1.121

WHITE MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Job Duration = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Job Duration	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
0-2 Years	6	4.333	2.503
2(+) - 4	8	5.125	2.997
4(+) - 6	9	4.556	2.404
6(+) - 8	7	6.857	5.699
8(+) - 10	10	7.200	3.521
10(+) - 12	17	7.176	2.856
12(+) - 14	10	7.900	4.358
14(+) - 16	17	9.824	4.927
16(+) - 18	9	5.556	2.651
18(+) - 20	8	8.750	4.652
20(+) - 22	10	10.700	6.075
22(+) - 24	6	12.500	3.332
24(+) - 26	15	8.467	5.153
26(+) - 28	8	10.625	4.596
28(+) - 30	5	8.400	3.209
30(+) - 32	3	3.667	1.528
32(+) - 34	1	6.000	0.000
34(+) - 36	4	13.500	5.916
36(+) - 38	1	3.000	0.000
38(+) - 40	1	2.000	0.000
Missing Data	1	4.000	0.000
Total	152	8.007	4.624

Total Sum of Squares = 3229

Between Means Sums of Squares = 826

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 2403

ETA = .51 For Seventeen Groups

ETA Squared = .26

F (16135) = 2.902

BLACK MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Education = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Education	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
High School Diploma	10	3.100	1.101
One Year of College	10	2.900	1.287
Two Years of College	25	3.000	1.658
Three Years of College	2	6.000	2.828
Bachelors Degree	46	3.522	1.260
Graduate School	22	5.545	2.087
Missing Data	1	6.000	0.000
Total	115	3.748	1.806

Total Sum of Squares = 372

Between Means Sums of Squares = 109

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 263

ETA = .54 for Six Groups

ETA Squared = .29

F (5109) = 9.040

WHITE MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Education = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Education	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
8th Grade	1	10.000	0.000
9th Grade	1	10.000	0.000
10th Grade	1	12.000	0.000
High School Diploma	38	6.447	4.032
One Year of College	12	5.417	3.801
Two Years of College	18	6.833	3.601
Three Years of College	3	6.333	1.155
Bachelors Degree	41	8.098	4.821
Graduate School	41	10.146	4.948
Total	153	7.843	4.647

Total Sum of Squares = 3282

Between Means Sums of Squares = 390

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 2892

ETA = .34 for Six Groups

ETA Squared = .12

F (5147) = 3.965

BLACK MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Age = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Age	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
21-25 Years	15	2.200	.775
26-30	30	3.033	1.299
31-35	32	3.656	1.335
36-40	21	4.905	2.189
41-45	10	4.500	1.581
46-50	7	6.000	1.826
56-60	1	6.000	0.000
Total	115	3.748	1.806

Total Sum of Squares = 372

Between Means Sums of Squares = 121

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 251

ETA = .57 for Six Groups

ETA Squared = .32

F (5109) = 10.495

WHITE MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Age = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Age	Number of of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
21-25 Years	3	7.000	5.196
26-30	15	3.333	1.718
31-35	14	6.000	2.038
36-40	29	7.345	4.038
41-45	29	8.828	4.089
46-50	32	8.250	3.510
51-55	24	10.250	6.074
56-60	7	11.857	7.151
Over 60	1	2.000	0.000
Not Given	2	6.500	3.536
Total	155	7.935	4.610

Total Sum of Squares = 3273

Between Means Sums of Squares = 649

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 2624

ETA = .46 for Nine Groups

ETA Squared = .20

F (8146) = 4.517

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